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JUNE 8, 1979

rancis Russell:
RDER STRIKES HOME
see page 744

NATIONAL REVIEW

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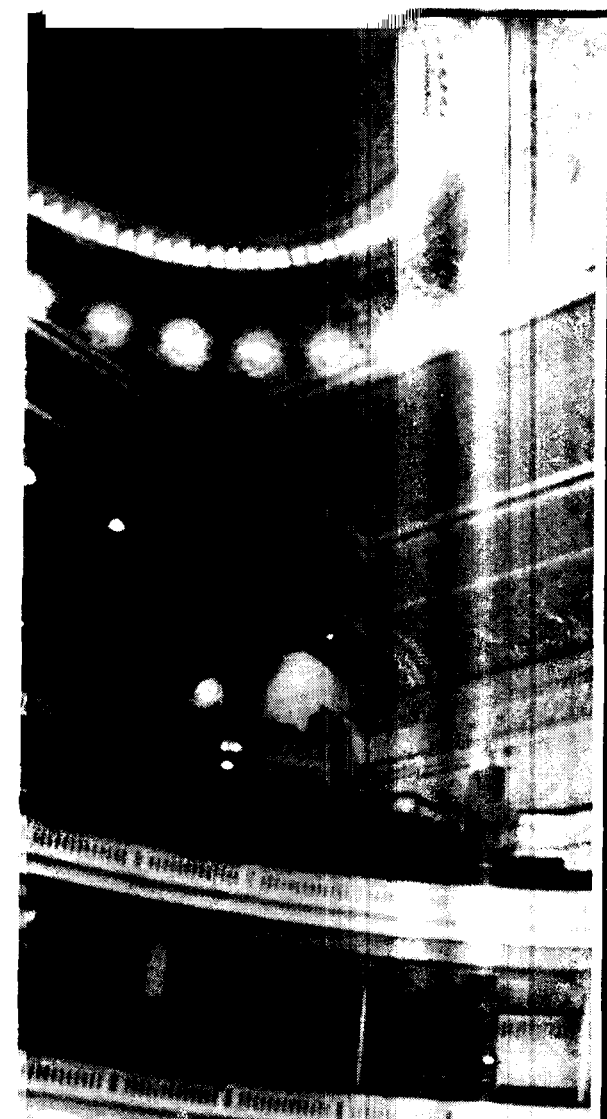

Here are the winners of the 1979 National Book Awards

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Tim O'Brien
Going After Cacciato
Delacorte Press/Seymour Lawrence

HISTORY

Richard Beale Davis
Intellectual Life in the Colonial South 1585–1763
University of Tennessee Press

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Robert Kennedy and His Times
Houghton Mifflin Company

POETRY

James Merrill
Mirabell: Books of Number
Atheneum

CONTEMPORARY THOUGHT

Peter Matthiessen
The Snow Leopard
The Viking Press

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

Katherine Paterson
The Great Gilly Hopkins
Thomas Y. Crowell Company

TRANSLATION

Clayton Eshleman and José Rubia Barcia
César Vallejo
The Complete Posthumous Poetry
University of California Press

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□30th ANNIVERSARY

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NATIONAL REVIEW

JUNE 8, 1979
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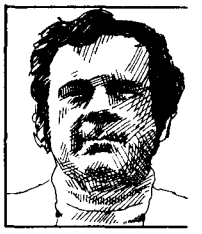

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ARTICLES & COLUMNS

724 **Rollback, Mark II**
Margaret Thatcher's victory may allow the West to carry the battle into the enemy's camp. *Brian Crozier*

725 **Libertarians and Conservatives**
For a generation, conservatives have generally believed that libertarians represent a mere exaggeration of the conservative dedication to liberty—just as liberals used to believe that Communism was a variant form of certain cherished liberal values. The truth, alas, is otherwise. Despite honorable exceptions, libertarianism as a whole is deeply hostile to the limited state—and therefore to any realizable form of liberty. What is more, its attacks on the limited state have led it to what amounts to a benign view of the Soviet Union. This is not mere deduction: by now the evidence is in, as witness the foreign policy prescriptions of Murray Rothbard, *Inquiry*, and other libertarian voices. *Ernest van den Haag*

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The Senate has recommended that the Administration lift its sanctions. Given the Carter-Young approach, however, tougher action may be necessary. *M. Stanton Evans*

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It was the sort of crime that usually happens to other people, the ones you read about in the papers. *Francis Russell*

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Helpful guides for parents beset by two common educational anxieties. *Russell Kirk*

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Aryeh Neier looks back on the Skokie case, justifying Nazi freedoms with a bizarre theory. *M. J. Sobran*

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The late stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald, finally collected in one volume, help refute the myth of the writer's dissolution. *Jeffrey Hart*

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752 **Common Sense**
C. P. Snow offers a batch of shrewd short studies, his subjects including Stendhal, Balzac, Dickens, James, Proust, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevsky. *Mitchell S. Ross*

753 **All in the Family**
Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur, by Ernest Samuels, wins high marks from a relative of its subject. *Ruth Berenson*

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In praise of Trekkies. *D. Keith Mano*

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We asked Americans:

'Who Should Suffer from Future Energy Shortages?'

In a recent poll, Americans supported sharing energy shortages among all groups of consumers:

"Is it your feeling that any cutbacks that come in the use of energy by the American public should be about equally divided between all groups of Americans or is it your feeling that some groups of the American consuming public should have to cut back a good deal more or less than most people?"

Divided equally	65%
Not divided equally	28%
Don't know	7%

Source: March 1979 national probability sample, by telephone, of 1,000 adults. Conducted for Union Carbide by Roger Seasonwein Associates, Inc.

A majority said 'All of Us.'

A majority of Americans believe that all groups in our society should share the burdens of any future energy shortages about equally. They reject the idea that some groups ought to be cut back more, or less, than others. Apparently, Americans have not lost their sense of fairness and shared sacrifice at a time when, as was shown in another Seasonwein poll, 50 percent felt that in the next few months we will be facing energy shortages.

While these questions were part of a survey of American attitudes on energy conservation, they shed light on the related questions of what the public feels is fair in dealing with energy shortages. And in developing public policies for allocating energy in a future shortage, our leaders will have to consider public attitudes as well as such economic realities as the importance of energy resources used as raw materials, rather than fuel.

Energy as a building block.
Most Americans think of energy as a fuel; as a source of heat, light or motion at home and on the job. But energy materials such as oil and gas are also used by companies like Union Carbide as raw materials—feedstocks—for which *there are now no ready substitutes.*

- Petroleum and natural gas provide the basic building blocks for products as diverse as fertilizers, chemicals, plastics, medicines and fabrics.
- In 1976, over 6 million American jobs depended on petroleum and gas feedstocks.
- The value of the products made directly from these feedstocks was $20.3 billion higher, in 1976, than the value of the feedstocks themselves.
- The petrochemical industry is one of the few U.S. industries to maintain a favorable balance of trade; in 1976 it amounted to $4.1 billion.

Feedstocks—a small but vital percentage.
Only a small part of America's enormous use of energy resources goes for feedstocks, but that small percentage is vital.

- The oil and gas used for feedstocks in 1976 equaled just 4.1 percent of America's total oil and gas consumption.
- Because there are no ready substitutes, cutting back feedstocks would have more severe effects on our economy than cutting back other uses of energy resources. Many jobs and the availability of essential products are at stake.

Where Union Carbide stands on energy supplies.

Union Carbide now uses about $2 billion worth of energy resources for fuel, power and raw materials per year, and we have a proven commitment to conserving energy resources and using them wisely. By the end of 1978, we'd reduced our energy use per pound of product by more than 15 percent compared to 1972. And we have recently announced new conservation goals that would bring our 1985 energy use level down *an additional 15 percent,* compared to 1972.

Union Carbide supports public policies, including the use of market prices, that would encourage domestic energy production and conservation. We support policies for dealing with shortages that would share the burden equitably and that would recognize that petroleum and natural gas feedstocks are irreplaceable and vital to our society.

This advertisement is part of a continuing series on public opinions and national concerns. For more information, write for your complimentary copy of "Public Attitudes on Energy Conservation," a report of the nationwide survey.

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Letters

Zealotry

I will defer to others to attack Grover Rees III ["The True Confession of One One-Issue Voter," May 25] and James J. Kilpatrick ["A Comment," May 25] for the substance of their arguments. Theirs was, whatever one's position on abortion, a fascinating exchange.

But I wonder about the tone of Mr. Kilpatrick's piece. Several times he calls Mr. Rees's piece "shrill." He consistently refers to one-issue voters as "zealots." He compares them to Prohibitionists, who "went around breaking up bar-rooms." And he invokes, as if lifted from the pages of *Ms.* magazine, the image of a teen-aged girl dying of peritonitis, the victim of an attempt to perform her own abortion—an argument that is the polemical equivalent of distributing a color photograph of a recently aborted fetus. Mr. Kilpatrick attempts to deflect Mr. Rees's arguments merely by labeling them unreasonable. Mr. Rees's piece *was* impassioned, but no more so than Mr. Kilpatrick's, and without the pointed insults.

Mark Stevens
Cleveland, Ohio

Agape, Sí; Eros, Me

Your editorial "Agape, Sí; Eros, Sí" ["The Week," May 11] implies a criticism of Pope John Paul II's stand on the celibacy of the clergy which is admirable so far as it goes, but which does not go far enough. Any plan for a married clergy today must include provisions for a divorced and remarried clergy. Surely we do not want to impose on the clergy the cruel and outmoded ecclesiastical law against divorce from which the laity are clamoring to be free.

My own view is that a priest has the right to marry twice, thrice, or whatever number of times he needs to find happiness. In an age in which life increasingly imitates soap opera, it seems inhuman to single out the clergy and condemn them alone to cope with drab reality.

Francis Canavan, SJ
Bronx, N.Y.

It seems to me that the Church has faced the issues of *eros* and *agape* for almost two thousand years—and Pope Paul's *Humanae Vitae* summed up the answers very well. Popularity, however, is not always a good indicator of truth. History will prove the truth of *Humanae Vitae;* the evil consequences of contraception already are everywhere evident.

John Reuter
Crosswicks, N.J.

Dissociations

"The Swarmy Life and Times of NCLC" [March 30] referred to "Cart National Youth Alliance" and implied affiliation between the National Yo Alliance, and both the National Cau of Labor Committees and the Libe Lobby.

The National Youth Alliance is an dependent, patriotic, non-profit organi tion for young white Americans. It has affiliation whatever with the Natio Caucus of Labor Committees, Libe Lobby, or Willis Carto. The Natio Youth Alliance has always vigorously posed both the National Caucus of Lab Committees and Mr. Carto.

It may be that the reference in yo article was to another organization w the name "National Youth Allianc which became inactive in 1970 and is n extinct. But it also would be incorrect refer to that organization as "Carto's N tional Youth Alliance"; it was directed Louis Byers, not Willis Carto. In a event, there is only one extant Natio Youth Alliance today, and it has ne had any connection with Mr. Carto.

William L. Pie
Secretary-Treasu
National Youth Allia
Washington, D

Vengeance Is Ours

At last someone has revealed the t foundation on which capital punishm rests: vengeance ["Anger Implies Co munity," May 11]. Having establish that, however, why stop at capital puni ment? If justice really means doing u others as they've done unto us, we sho not only murder murderers, but also m muggers, rape rapists, and torture tort ers. Would not any and all of these thi satisfy our desire for revenge?

And as long as we're basing our p cies on human passions, why stop vengeance? The desire to have what oth have, or at least not to see others ha more than us, is every bit as powerful emotion as the desire for revenge. W not institutionalize this "very hum passion" by taxing the rich to feed t poor?

I prefer reason, thank you. Reason te me this: Everyone has a right to use for in self-defense, but not more force than necessary for that purpose. While I m be justified in killing someone who is tacking me, the justification disappea when the attacker is behind bars. Killi a criminal *after* he has been imprisoned gratuitous; vengeance does not justify t

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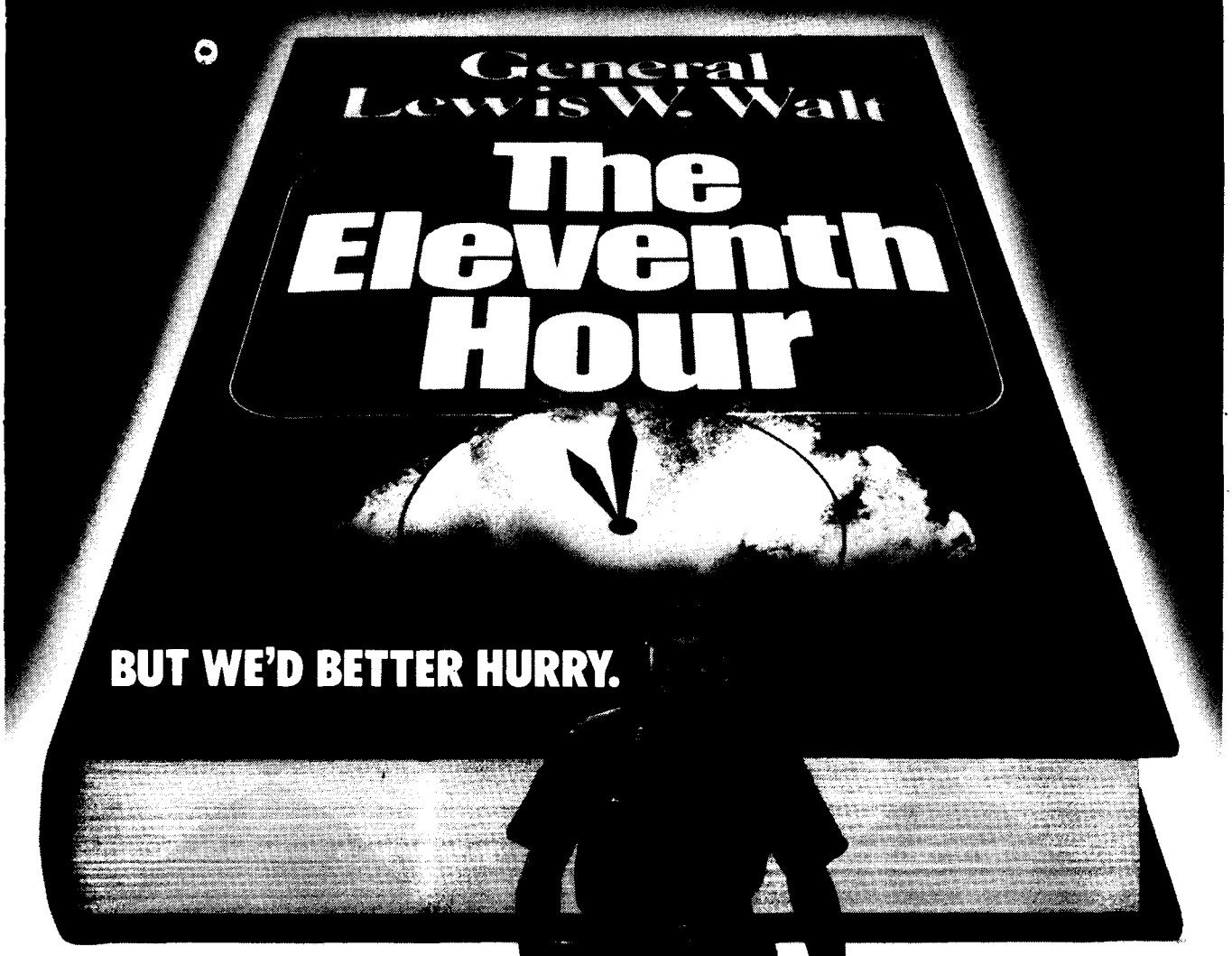

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killing, any more than envy justifies re distribution.

I am not saying that criminals should g free. A wrongdoer aways has the respons bility to make right what he did wron so far as it is possible to do so. But ther is a difference between enforced restitu tion on the one hand, and punishmer (*pour encourager les autres* or to satisf our own desire for revenge) on the othe The former is justified; the latter is not.

John A. Brade
Fremont, Mic

Cruising Speed

"My Mother Doesn't Go to Haiti" by I Keith Mano [Feb. 16] was clearly humo ous, and I hope that your readers took as such, and did not take some of the le complimentary references to Cunard an and our cruise too seriously.

But some of the points might be mi understood by your readers. There is reference to rails around the beds. Thes in fact are part of the support for th conversion of the beds into settees durin the day to make the cabin a sitting roor this is quite unusual in cabin design. It i also true that the adjustment knob for th air-conditioning is in the ceiling in th entrance to the cabin, but that part of th ceiling is quite low, though beyond th reach of children.

We had some difficulties in the engin room which we have been able to correc with the assistance of the manufacture of the engines, a Danish company. Thes engines were the most advanced in thei field and, as with any new prototype, ar subject to more defects than those teste over many years.

Many travelers want to go to Sout America—Venezuela in particular—bu Caracas is not everybody's favorite, a though it can be fascinating. We do hav a mixed reaction from passengers wh take these tours. I am sure readers wh have some knowledge of the Caribbea will realize that Mr. Mano had tongue i cheek when he said all the islands are th same. It is one of the superb features o the area that the islands and their peopl are all very different from one anothe

We are proud that more than 90 pe cent of the passengers who have taken thi same cruise during the past 12 month have rated the entire program excellen

A. H. FitzGeral
Vice-President, Cunar
New York, N.Y

The Seeds of What?

Malachi Martin ["The Seeds of Disintegra tion," April 27] has been tolling th gloom bell quite often recently: "A larg majority of social movements and power ful interests are not merely acting with out regard for religion and morality, the are acting on the assumption that religio

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and the morality attendant on religious belief are to be disenfranchised and outlawed as a basis for social and political action." Was it ever otherwise between the "powerful interests"—be they political, social, or educational—and true Christian religion?

However, I've come across another writer's thought that brightens up considerably Mr. Martin's glum prophecy. 'Christianity has been too often in what seemed deadly peril that we should fear for it any new trial now. So far it is certain. On the other hand, what is uncertain, and in these great contests commonly is uncertain, and what is commonly a great surprise when it is witnessed, is the particular mode in the event by which Providence rescues and saves its elect inheritance. Sometimes our enemy is turned into a friend; sometimes he is despoiled of that special virulence of evil which was so threatening; sometimes he falls to pieces of himself; sometimes he does just so much as is beneficial and then is removed. Commonly the Church has nothing more to do than to go on in her own proper duties in confidence and in peace, to stand still, and to see the salvation of God."

This was John Henry Cardinal Newman's response to the Holy Father and his own personal friends who had gathered in Rome when he received the red hat.

Carl R. Steinbicker
Cincinnati, Ohio

Malachi Martin's column "The Seeds of Disintegration" is wryly summed up on the title page: "Religious people mustn't ever seek to impose their views on others. Only secularists may do that." Religious people are then tremendously fortunate that at least they have Malachi Martin to defend them by imposing his views on the secularists. But are Mr. Martin's opinions insightful or merely intolerant?

Stanley Fisher
New York, N.Y.

Malachi Martin calls the resistance of the women of Persia to the tyranny of Khomeini a "glaring example of the general decision to leave religion" and morality out of consideration.

Surely a woman does not have to be irreligious and immoral to resist the effort to put her back in the harem. Mr. Martin complains that "social movements" are trying to disenfranchise "religion and morality." If "religion and morality" lead to such bigotry as Malachi Martin displays, they should be disenfranchised.

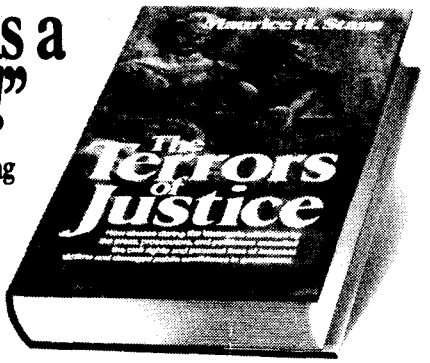
F. K. Downey
Jackson, Miss.

Send In the Clowns

As an admirer of NATIONAL REVIEW I was astonished that you would refer to North-

"This book is a time bomb!"

To find out why, read the following excerpts from William F. Gavin's review of Maurice Stans' THE TERRORS OF JUSTICE in Human Events....



"Until now all we have had as source material for Watergate have been...confessions, self-congratulatory memoirs of those who prosecuted the Watergate figures, Hollywood good-guy vs. bad-guy extravaganzas...

"Stans has written a different kind of book...No hysteria, no demagoguery, no poetry, no refuge in spirituality—just the steady, plodding, relentless drumbeat of fact after fact, document after document...

"It is a modern horror story (of) the sordid and all but incredible perversions of justice by public officials...A book to buy and keep and when the time is right, to give to one's children...It will tell of *a reign of media and government terror unparalleled in American history.*

"This book is a time bomb."

—Reprinted with permission from the February 24, 1979 issue of Human Events.

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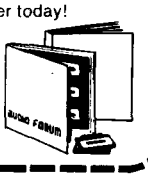

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ern Ireland as Ulster ["The Week," May 11]. Northern Ireland is not Ulster except in the minds of those who wish to continue the status quo.

You call Representative O'Neill a clown for saying the British had made a "political football" of the issue. As soon as James Callaghan called the general election, he promised the Northern Irish Unionists that, if re-elected, he would increase their number of seats in Parliament. The same Unionists have supported him ever since he took office. The sphinx-like maiden who heads the conservative party declared at the same time: "Northern Ireland must remain part of Great Britain." Is not this political football? And who are the clowns?

G. C. Smith
Buffalo, N.Y.

I Love New York

Since I was born in New York City, and have spent twenty of my 25 years living there, I believe I can, with authority, take exception to Ernest van den Haag's statement ["A Tale of Three Cities," April 27] that New York is ". . . remarkable for [its] life and . . . achievements, not for monuments of ancient culture. [It] is pleasant to inhabit or to visit, but there is hardly any individual aesthetically remarkable thing to see."

Having read this, I would like to share the following list with Mr. van den Haag: St. Patrick's Cathedral, Grant's Tomb, the Public Library on 42nd Street, Central Park (specifically, the sculptures of Carroll's characters, as opposed to the muggers . . .), Trinity Church, the Statue of Liberty, the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and the modern, sloped skyscrape across from the Library on 42nd Street.

And that was just a partial list for Mar hattan. Surely, his aesthetic sense can nc be so refined as to not be pleased b *something* in a city whose offerings rang from neo-Renaissance to futuristic.

Rosemary A. Alfin
Arlington, V

Grand Illusion

You note that Dallas was "the only plac in the nation that voted more heavily tha Orange County for Barry Goldwate ["The Week," May 11]. Not only di Dallas vote less heavily than Orang County and many other places in th nation, including the entire state of Mi sissippi, for Barry Goldwater, but it di graced itself by actually carrying fc Lyndon Johnson by a margin of 166,47 to 137,065. I wish it were not so, but w do not expect NATIONAL REVIEW to repo wishful thinking as fact.

Don W. King J
San Antonio, Te

Talking a Good Game

Jerry Brown wants to have a constitu tional convention to balance the budget c the United States ["The Week," Marc 16]. Jerry Brown is Governor of Cal fornia and he could show a good exampl of leadership to the rest of the country b dealing with governmental excess in h own state. The California "surplus" wi dwindle to nothing before the crisis be comes clear. The fat in California is nc being trimmed. In some departments c California state government there must b a ratio of seven or eight bureaucrats t one "grass-roots" employee. Time an again the grass-roots are expected to d totally unrelated work merely on the au thority of a bureaucrat or some federa "guideline" invented by another using "mandate" as justification for authority.

There simply are too many people be tween the governor and the grass-root Each bureaucrat has his own secretarie aides, advisors. This is a fact. When read about policemen, firemen, teacher or nurses being fired or not hired in th name of "austerity," I realize how Mr Brown's words differ from his deeds.

James E. Clar
Napa, Cali

Coercive Chairs

I agree that those who believe in the fre market should do their best to educat Americans, and especially students, in th virtues of Adam Smith ["The Week," Ma 11]. But financing chairs in laissez-faire a universities is unnecessarily coercive, an opens conservatives to counterattack b those would endorse Marxist chairs.

Tim Johnso
Los Angeles, Cali

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FOR THE RECORD

Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** isn't sure what **Jimmy Carter** can do about it, but he says it's beginning to be an open scandal in Washington that the administration makes its decision on how will Senator **Kennedy** react" rather than on the merits of the case. . . . It was another bad week for the President with a rebellious House Democratic Caucus voting 153 to 82 against the President's oil decontrol program. Among the rebels: Speaker **Tip O'Neill** and Majority Whip **Jim Brademas**. Only Majority Leader **Jim Wright** supported Carter—and Wright comes from oil-oriented Texas. . . . The well-informed **Godfrey Sperling** of the *Christian Science Monitor* points out that in one way Kennedy's am-I-or-am-I-not-running game is helping Carter: it is keeping all other would-be contenders except **Jerry Brown**—and no one seems to be scared of Jerry Brown) out of the field. Democrats all across the nation will withhold their support from other challengers, he says, until they see what Kennedy decides to do. . . . Meanwhile five Democratic congressmen headed by **Richard Ottinger** (N.Y.) have formed a formal Dump Carter movement. . . . Another anti-Carter group, Machinist President **William Winpisinger**'s National Committee for a Democratic Alternative, has not impressed **Irwin Silber**, political columnist for the radical *Guardian*. Its demands, as listed in a full-page *New York Times* ad last week, are, says Silber, "about as inspiring as a wad of used chewing gum."

■ A survey of Republican political pros in *U.S. News*) indicates they think the race has narrowed down to three men, **Ronald Reagan**, **John Connally**, and **Howard Baker**. . . . **Gerald Ford** thinks Reagan is well ahead at the moment but doubts that he "has it locked up." . . . **George Bush** campaign director, **James Baker**, is plugging ahead. He says Bush has collected over $1 million and that he now has finance committees operating in 42 states.

Langdon, *Punch* Rothco

"More cases of the Ministry of Justice overruled by the Department of Trade."

■ Former Sen. **Clifford Case** (N.J.), now head of Freedom House, is urging the United States to lift its sanctions on Rhodesia as soon as Bishop **Muzorewa** takes over. "The new government," says Case, "is widely acknowledged within its own country to hold legitimate power." . . . In this country, meanwhile, Patriotic Front leader **Joshua Nkomo** was getting honorary degrees from Morehouse College and huddling for forty minutes in Houston, Texas, with **Andrew Young**. . . . **Maynard Jackson**, the black mayor of Atlanta, offended lots of citizens of that fair town by naming Sunday, May 20, the day Nkomo got his honorary doctorate of law, Zimbabwe Day. . . . Andrew Young, who spared no time in advising **Margaret Thatcher** that she must *not* recognize the new Rhodesian government, is reported to be thinking of resigning his UN post to run for Sen. **Herman Talmadge**'s seat.

■ Good news on the Right: The **Max Schmidheiny Foundation**—a new Swiss foundation dedicated to the cause of "political liberty and free enterprise"—his given one of its first two awards to *NR* contributor **Robert Moss**, editor of *The Economist*'s *Foreign Report*. The award of 100,000 Swiss francs is worth $57,000. . . . The **Institute for Contemporary Studies**, one of whose guiding lights is former *NR* associate editor **A. Lawrence Chickering**, is bringing out a new magazine, *Taxing & Spending*, five times a year (for info write: ICS, 260 California St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111). . . . **J. A. Parker**, the conservative black leader, is bringing out a new quarterly journal, *Lincoln Review*, that will cover issues that affect blacks. He has enlisted a number of black writers in the effort, among them the economist **Walter Williams**, who writes on racism and organized labor in the first issue. (Lincoln Institute, 1735 DeSales St. N.W., Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20036.)

■ Head of the Class. In only two places in the U.S. is the per capita income over $10,000 a year—**Alaska**, and **Washington, D.C.** . . . According to *Parade* magazine, the greatest density of psychiatrists in the country—51.1 per 100,000 inhabitants—is to be found in Washington, D.C. Obviously it's a losing fight.

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THE WEEK

■ Vice Peanut Walter Mondale has announced that he will no longer use the word "liberal" to describe himself or his policies. Next thing you know, he'll start choking on the name Carter.

■ "Washington, May 10 (UPI)—Committees financed by big business, labor, professionals, and conservatives outspent political parties by almost 3 to 1 in the 1978 congressional elections, the Federal Election Commission says. . . . The [FEC] report showed the growing influence of conservative and business political action committees on the election process, while big labor's spending declined." Want to guess who got most of the money? See the last line of the story: Democrats racked up 56.2 per cent, Republicans 43.8 per cent.

■ The surge in worldwide inflation worsens the outlook for economic growth in the industrial world. Because of progressive tax systems, workers end up in higher brackets, which widens the gap between the wage the employer pays and the employee's take-home pay. Thus, the cost of labor rises while the reward to labor declines, thereby discouraging employment from both ends. For businesses, inflation produces illusory accounting profits, which are then taxed, and it raises the replacement cost of fixed assets far above depreciation allowances. H. C. Wainright and Co. estimates that inflation will result in corporate profits' being overstated by $61 billion this year. Since $61 billion in costs will be misreported as profit, the effective tax rate on earnings will rise far above the statutory rate—thereby reducing the after-tax rate of return on capital and discouraging investment. Meanwhile, economic policymakers continue laboring under the Keynesian misconception that inflation is good for economic growth.

■ More than half of Sears Roebuck's 294,000 employees are women, but the Federal Government doesn't think Sears has put the ladies in the right jobs or paid them the right wages. Sears, faced with a suit alleging unlawful discrimination on various grounds, struck back last January by filing suit against ten agencies of the government, alleging that it was impossible to comply with all the conflicting regulations—e.g., if the three applicants for one job are a black man aged 57, a veteran aged 33, and a woman who won't give her age—on what grounds can you hire one of them without inviting a lawsuit from the other two? A good question, but last week in Washington the U.S. District Court dismissed Sears' suit, saying Sears had failed to present "a justifiable cas or controversy." Sears will appeal. Meanwhile the gov ernment will go ahead with a $100-million job-discrim nation suit against Sears. Oh yeah, the judge who tosse Sears out of court is Mme. June Green. Probably member of the old-person network.

■ Dan White assassinated the mayor of San Francisc and, as an afterthought, the city supervisor. He smuggle a pistol into City Hall, fired two bullets into each of hi victim's skulls, and was convicted of voluntary man slaughter. The poor guy faced unemployment, he wa upset and under a lot of strain, and now he may have t spend seven or eight years in prison—right in the prim of his life too. San Francisco's homosexual citizens riote in protest, for the irrelevant reason that White's secon victim was gay. We're trying to figure out why all th normal people weren't out there rioting at the verdict Maybe they're too used to it.

■ The NAACP continues to be obstinately non-rabi on the subject of energy. In January 1978, the energy committee of the NAACP called for deregulation o oil and gas, relaxation of environmental standards fo power plants, and development of nuclear power. Liber als treated the defection as a modern-day Sepoy Mutiny Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson now reaffirms the re port, post-Three Mile Island. "The NAACP continue to acknowledge the contribution nuclear power make toward meeting our requirements for electrical energy . . . The day Americans move away from what make them great—technology—we are in trouble." Member of the group's energy committee privately accuse anti nuclear organizations of wanting "blacks simply fo their numbers."

■ Last time we glanced south of the border, we spie President Carter dodging a salvo of spitballs from Presi dent López Portillo of Mexico. This week's nuisance i Fidel Castro (tyrannosaurus presidens) of Cuba, making a royal progress through the Aztec Empire, being greeted by López Portillo as "liberator," and raging at the United States for its "grotesque and miserable" boycott of Havana. No matter that Castro has scuttled the second largest economy in Iberoamerica and has terrorized a gentle people, some 10 per cent of whom, the lucky ones, have been able to sell everything to the official extortioners and purchase their freedom in the United States. No matter that Mexico's mariachi Marxism has driven millions across the border to seek "unauthorized" jobs in the United States. Castro sees the Mexican exodus as the result of "the bitter and inevitable mutilation of the national territory and the underdevelopment imposed by force, the arrogance and the domination of the United States in the past." That must have sounded mag-

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Call us a friend of the New Right. We like the way they have brought moral and social issues to the fore, the way they have scared the bejesus out of the Republican Party, the way they have challenged the established liberal order of Capitol Hill. They have no hunger for respectability and no fear of victory. They are most comfortable with themselves, it sometimes seems, when they are read out of the company of civilized men by the *New York Times*.

They have won some, lost some, bought a few to pyrrhic victory. It is not difficult to imagine, however, a vastly different political culture without the New Right. The gentle leadership of the Republican Party—a loyal opposition if ever there was one—would have insured the domestic tranquillity, promoted the general welfare, and settled greedily for 20 per cent of a geometrically expanding federal pie. Without the New Right cop on the beat, the GOP triumvirate of Brock, Baker, and Rhodes would have voted their shares for an ideological merger with the dominant Democrats. Under constant surveillance by New Rightists, they act differently, occasionally making distinctly Republican and even conservative noises. If there is a two-party system in this country, it is at least in part the creature of the New Right.

For all the salutary results, however, we note a change in attitude among political technicians usually associated with the New Right. (We are not talking about rhetoric here. New Right propagandists routinely use words the way terrorists use grenades.) From a strategically sound commitment to punish their enemies, the New Right has set a new tactical course: it now seems bent on disciplining its friends. One must ask oneself, about any conservative movement that has simultaneously alienated Ronald Reagan, John Connally, Howard Baker, George Bush, and Philip Crane: Has the New Right pushed too hard? Have they been too arrogant? Have they moved beyond the point at which reasonable men can come together?

These thoughts are occasioned by reports of mass resignations from candidate Crane's staff. Apparently triggered by pollster Arthur Finkelstein, who had placed several associates in the campaign, these resignations were designed to "discipline" Crane for a) paying too much attention to his wife; b) paying too little attention to Finkelstein; c) emphasizing economic issues at the expense of social issues; d) parting his hair on the wrong side of his head. Take your pick. Whatever the defecting staffers might have contributed while employed by Crane (he was still at 1 per cent in the polls), they were the soul of industry in resignation. Day after day they leaked stories damaging to Crane and to the people who remained loyal to him. We have heard it said by several of the ex-staffers that their current ambition is to "bring the campaign down with [them]."

Our own view of the political staffer's role has always been less flexible: he or she is never to be noticed unless something goes wrong, at which time the staffer should be prepared to take the rap. The way Crane's campaign staff turned on him for interfering in "their" campaign introduces an unsettling precedent into the political process.

■ One of Cato's ongoing pleasures is the good-natured abuse to which this column subjects him. We mean, *NR* readers are masters of the elegant putdown. For all you folks who ridiculed our prediction column last year, then, we can't resist repeating: "Early signs, too wispy at this point to be definitive, suggest that 1979 will be the year of the great debate on nuclear power." If only we could find the gent's address who wanted to put five big ones against that proposition.

■ Over the years we have come to accept the wisdom of certain rules for living. We are indebted to Bud Trillin (or perhaps it's Mark Twain) for two of the soundest:

Never play cards with a man named Doc.

Never eat at a place called Mom's.

Just returned from a motor tour of Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina, we are prepared to offer three more for your traveling pleasure.

Never stay at a hotel called a Chalet.

Never buy anything at a store called Shortie's Gift Shop.

Never place your new car at the mercy of a road flagged "Your Taxes at Work."

As our friends in the newsletter business like to say, this advice ALONE is worth the price of your subscription.

—CATO

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nificent in Spanish, and made as little sense. Meanwhile Castro's troops are on the move in Zambia and Mozambique, liberating the Africans from the legacy of Calvin Coolidge. The trouble with some clowns is that they command troops and torturers. Everyone laughed at Hitler, too, called him a clown in the early days. Where are the Dutch Uncles of the world?

■ The day of romantic, visceral Marxism is not dead, as the leader of Spain's Socialist Workers Party, Felipe Gonzalez, found out when his party's Congress overruled him by voting to define itself as "class-based, Marxist, democratic, and federal." Gonzalez had admonished the Congress that "Marx is not an absolute . . . We have to be socialists before being Marxists." When the party voted 61 per cent against Gonzalez' recommendations, he—to his credit—resigned, thereby demonstrating his seriousness in contrast to the dismayed membership which had apparently expected him to swallow a bit of ideological posturing. Gonzalez seems to be a man of quality who has played a constructive role in assisting Spain's smooth transition from the Franco era into parliamentary democracy. He will probably be called upon again—if the party, post-catharsis, overcomes the habits of its secretive conspiratorial past and decides to become a mature political organization. Meanwhile, as the socialists squabble over Marxist posturing, the Communists on the "far" Left continue the moderate stance they adopted when their leader, Santiago Carillo, last year persuaded them to drop the label "Leninist."

■ In 1961 Otto von Habsburg gave up his claim to the

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throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1979, having lately become a West German citizen, he is seeking a seat in the first European parliament. And the German Left is furious. Dr. Habsburg's candidacy is the hottest issue in the campaign. He is pro-Rhodesia, anti-United Nations, and of course anti-Communist, all of which, combined with certain accidents of birth, have won him the epithets of racism and reaction. Even Helmut Schmidt has denounced him. "If they are going so hard on me," Dr. Habsburg says, "it is because they can't handle someone who is on the conservative side and has no Nazi past." Senior subscribers to NATIONAL REVIEW will need no reminders that Dr. Habsburg's civility and learning would do credit to any gathering. The hostility of the Social Democrats suggests that they desire, in more ways than one, a classless society.

■ Marvin (no relation) Mitchelson, attorney for Michelle Triola Marvin (no relation) in the matter of *Marvin* v. *Marvin*, couldn't get his estimated $500,000 fee from Michelle, and couldn't get it from the State of California, so now he's gone back to court to try to get it from Lee Marvin, no doubt on grounds that that's what he's been doing to Marvin for years.

■ A word of comfort for anyone jailed for income tax evasion: your income is not taxable while you're in the slammer.

■ A federal program for testing blood pressure in the Midwest tested "three to four hundred" persons at a cost of $21,030, or $52 to $70 per test, and raised taxpayers' blood pressure 52 to 70 points.

■ Some thousands of citizens got up early the other day, shut off the electric alarm clock, turned on the electric lights, took eggs and bacon out of the electric refrigerator and cooked them on the electric range, ate them along with toast from the electric toaster, styled their hair with 1,200-watt dryers, and went down to Washington, D.C. to protest nuclear power.

Jimmy at Balaklava

Jerry to right of him,
Teddy to left of him,
Congress in front of him
  Bitched as he blundered.

Stormed at by Bush and Dole,
Jimmy's dug such a hole,
It could accommodate
(Maybe the man's a mole?)
  All the six hundred.

W. H. VON DREELE

Kennedy's Pre-Eminence

Senator Edward Kennedy will very likely defeat President Carter as a write-in candidate in New Hampshire, then meet the February 27 filing deadline for states that send about one-third of the delegates to the convention, and clinch the nomination by sweeping the New York State Democratic primary on April 29. In November he will lose either to Connally or to Reagan.

Kennedy occupies a position of enormous strategic advantage vis-à-vis President Carter. For the time being, he need do next to nothing to advance his candidacy. Carter has been dying politically from two vulnerabilities, one inevitable and historical, the other of his own making.

Take the historical vulnerability first. In 1976, Carter managed to put a piece of adhesive tape over the deep fissures in the Democratic Party. He carried the South and the Northern liberals, he carried the Wallace vote and the black vote. He brought off this bit of prestidigitation with clever rhetoric, all-things-to-all-men; and through his selection of Walter Mondale. But the split never was, never could be, healed. As a would-be leader and policymaker, Carter has tergiversated. He has fallen off his high-wire and disappeared into the split between the two wings of his party. A charismatic figure with dynastic appeal, Kennedy has consolidated the Left and can now move outward from that base with initiatives appealing to other constituencies.

In addition to his historical legacy of a divided party, Carter possesses vulnerabilities of a more local sort. Domestically, not a single important Carter initiative has met with the approval of a Congress dominated by his own party. His foreign policy record is little better. By a lopsided vote of 75 to 19, the Senate has told him to junk his Rhodesian policy. SALT II is in deep trouble. His most spectacular foreign policy venture, the Egyptian-Israeli arrangement, is turning sour. Congress rejected out of hand his gas rationing proposal, an integral part of the domestic division of the OPEC energy squeeze. In the public opinion polls, Carter has a fighting chance of achieving single digits.

Sometimes it seems that Carter is on the threshold of disappearance as a political force in American politics. He lacks psychological legitimacy, hardly seems to be a U.S. President at all. He ran against and only narrowly defeated an appointed incumbent. He campaigned as a sort of anti-candidate. In restrospect it seems all too appropriate that he canceled the playing of "Hail to the Chief."

Carter has turned out to be little more than a parenthesis between the last real President, Richard Nixon,

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and the real President who will be elected in 1980.

Teddy Kennedy, unlike Carter, exists. And simply by existing, he is moving into the vacuum in the Democratic Party represented by Carter and his Administration.

Over the Shoulder

The treaty hasn't been signed yet, and already so much SALT has been spilled that the Administration has taken to throwing handfuls over its shoulders as a substitute for selling it. Instead of proceeding methodically to sign the treaty and then to put out reasoned analyses of its terms, while holding fire till it sees the whites of senatorial eyes, the Administration appears to be loading everything into one grand barrage which may temporarily distract by noise but in the end may also backfire. Why?

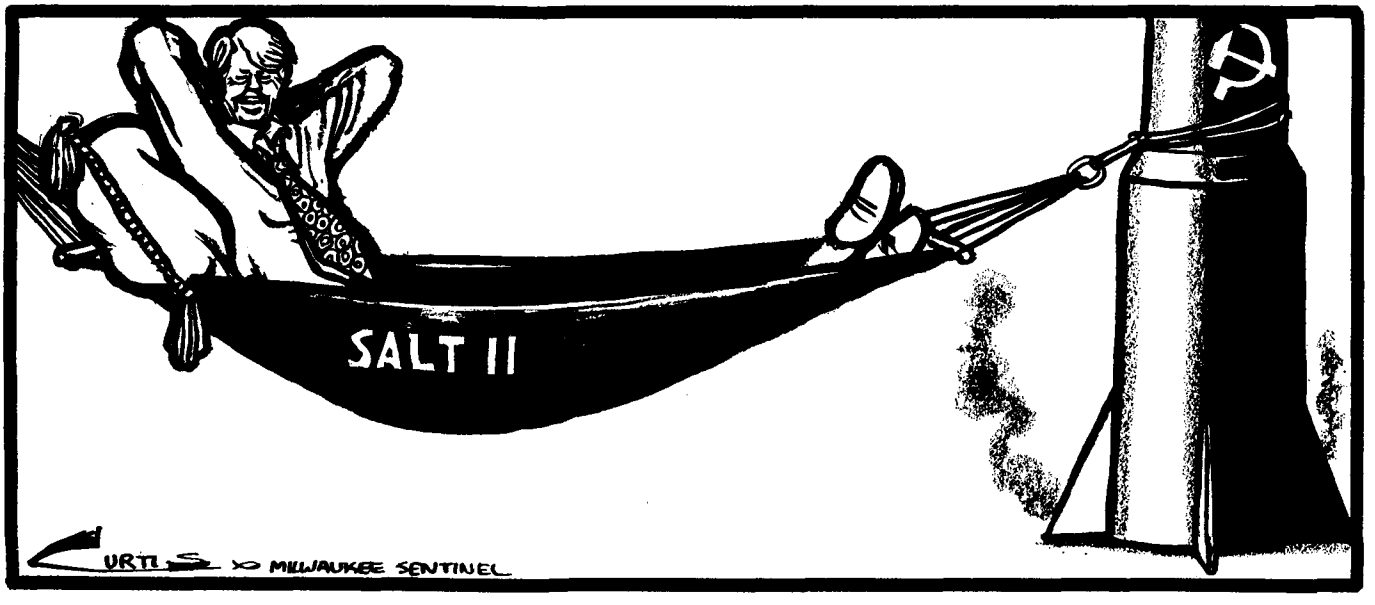
The public is not hostile—to judge from the polls. CBS/NYT reports a 63 to 25 per cent split in favor of arms control, NBC/AU reports 68 to 22 per cent, and Gallup reports 75 per cent in favor. So what's the problem? Here it is—79 per cent admitted to NBC/AP they don't really know enough about the terms to have an opinion on the treaty itself. Also, the polls show large groups who, when asked, want "more protection for the U.S." and oppose a non-verifiable treaty as well as "letting the U.S. fall behind." The essence of all this is that while Americans favor arms control they modestly reserve judgment on the terms of SALT II pending proof that it will result in true mutuality and will enhance U.S. security.

True, some senators are critical, but most are waiting to see the text and to analyze the terms. Senator Hayakawa spoke for many when he expressed his concern over the consequences of defeating an Administration on such a treaty. But senators want to see the fine print—except for Frank Church, who has warned us against the "trap of technicalities . . . the nuclear theologians who intone a litany of technical terms." And here is the Administration's problem. As if leading from weakness, it seems to prefer vaulting to the generalized, moralistic, cosmic arguments of last resort rather than proceeding, workmanlike, through a logical progression.

The most sensitive issue right now is "verification." But CIA Director Turner has refused to back up Carter's proclamation that the treaty would be verifiable "from the first day it is signed." He says it will take several years to compensate for the capacity of the lost Iranian monitoring stations. He has distinguished between "monitoring," which the Agency can do, and "verification," which he describes as a "meaningless question" and turns over to the President and Congress. In other words, verification is not something to be measured by objective intelligence standards but by the "political" standards which animate the President and Congress. As Evans and Novak have noted, Turner "does not regard his role as [that of] a seller of SALT."

That's not all. The former Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Zumwalt, appearing on *Meet the press*, blurted out that a reading of the sequence of military appraisals and evaluations on SALT II over the months would shock the Senate by revealing that the Chiefs' views have been "watered down." According to Zumwalt, the Chiefs of Staff have concluded they "should support SALT II despite their deep reservations" because when told by the President that "there are political factors beyond their purview," they have to decide whether to support him or "leave office."

Both the public and the Senate want to know the practical meaning and effect of the treaty's terms. But the Administration and the Kremlin prefer to make the ratification a test of who is a "peace-lover" and who is a "warmonger." Well, there are two tests on which the



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ratification vote could be based: a) it could be a test of confidence in the objective meaning and effect of the treaty terms, or b) it could be a test of confidence in the Carter Administration. If the Administration steers the debate away from an objective analysis of the terms it will in effect turn it toward a test of confidence in the Administration itself.

Spin, Crash, and Burn

President Carter has, by law, until June 30 to scrap his Rhodesian policy, and some Republican presidential candidates secretly hope that he will fail to do so, thus adding to his growing list of political disasters. Should Carter stick with sanctions, Congress will certainly junk his policy for him. That was the meaning of the non-binding 75 to 19 Senate vote calling upon Carter to lift the sanctions, a vote even more lopsided than it appears: at least six of the 19 votes against the resolution are known to have been wobbly. Binding legislation is now in preparation, and the figures indicate that it will be un-vetoable. The Carter-Young-Moose policy of backing the Rhodesian guerrillas is about to go down in flames.

Though anxious to avoid a direct embarrassment to Carter, the Thatcher government in England has sent a high-ranking representative to Salisbury, Sir Antony Duff. He pointedly described his talks with Bishop Abel Muzorewa as "highly constructive." England is clearly moving toward the normalization of relations with the new Rhodesian government.

"The grand fact," observes columnist George Will, "is that Rhodesia now has an elected black prime minister. But critics like [Andrew] Young judge every Rhodesian development by the standard of whether it will 'end the war.' That standard eventually will dictate surrender to those who will settle for nothing less than surrender. There are people in Washington who favor essentially that, lest the Russians send in the Cubans, thereby souring 'detente.' But there is an alternative to pre-emptive surrender as a way of ending a war: Win it."

Bees, Texas, And the White House

It's the best little statehouse in Texas. Lieutenant Governor William Hobby floated the notion of a March presidential primary—whereupon 12 state senators, disrelishing the idea, vanished. No quorum—no primary! Hobby hoarsely denounced the truants as "killer bees," unleashing a swarm of apian jokes. The senators who stayed became "worker bees"; the hapless Texas Rangers, unable to find the missing legislators, "bumble bees." Nothing yet about s.o. bees, unless oil lobbyists are Esso bees. One zealous highway patrolman arrested State Senator Gene Jones in Houston and shipped him to Austin, only to discover that it was his brother, Clayton. "I told him he was making a mistake," quoth Clayton.

Behind all the fun is some serious political wheeling and dealing. A presidential primary held two months before the Texas state primaries would encourage conservatives to vote in both—backing conservative Republicans in the first, then switching registration to smite liberal Democrats (e.g., the missing 12) in the second. Hobby, an old friend of John Connally, also seems to think he knows which Republican contender would benefit. Some analysts, monitoring polls that seem to suggest that Connally's support is stronger with politicians than with voters, wonder whether he wouldn't be better off forsaking a primary altogether, and relying on a convention. Connally supporters expect an early win in Texas to give their man a fast start. An early win, of course, will require defeating the man who swept the Texas Republican primary in 1976—alongside which, killer bees are probably the least of Connally's problems.

Less Is More

Joe Clark, Canada's new Prime Minister, is no Margaret Thatcher. His election platform was not constructed with traps for hanging socialist malefactors, and he promised comfort, not confrontation. Yet his narrow victory over Pierre Trudeau warrants more than a subdued cheer.

In his 11 years of power, Trudeau demonstrated consummate skill in giving Big Government an exciting face. He expanded federal spending by 500 per cent, such that this year's *deficit* is larger than total *spending* prior to his seizure of the reins. The Trudeau panache distracted voters from the growth of the bureaucracy and the drift of power from the provinces to Ottawa.

Now Canada has a leader with comparatively modest attractions and a comparatively modest view of the goals attainable through the federal government. Lacking a majority in Parliament, Clark will have to dodge and weave, seeking consensus and meliorism rather than the extravagant objectives of the now-deposed Philosopher King.

To Trudeau and the media, Clark is a small-town hick who cannot be compared with the world-class sophisticate. The voters may actually have agreed with that snobbish assessment, but not with the corollary that Clark is unfit for leadership. Like the Athenian electors who ostracized the uppity in order to keep their fragile democracy functional, voters in English Canada concluded that Trudeau had grown too large in office.

That Quebec stuck by Trudeau while the rest of

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'anada rejected him will be interpreted by the separatists as the sign of a fatal national fissure along linuistic lines. More likely, voters in the other provinces ecided that the risks of separatism were less than the sks of greater centralism. In that sense, Trudeau's masve support in Quebec is hardly evidence of growth of eparatist sentiment, but of confidence in confederation.

Canada is no longer in big hands but it may be in ood hands.

Ends and Means in Chile

Having convicted Michael Townley of the murder of Orlando Letelier, the U.S. wanted to try three Chilean x-officers implicated by Townley. There was reason to nticipate that the Chilean government might be reuctant to hand the three over. We had a choice beween two approaches: a) demanding of General Pinohet that he turn them over, and b) applying to the upreme Court of Chile for extradition. We took the udicial route—and lost. "We are gravely disappointed by he decision," said spokesman Hodding Carter. Now, ne U.S. will appeal from the decision by the president of ne Court to the whole Court. The outcome is doubtful. But instead of awaiting the result of the appeal, the Deartment of State has underlined our dissatisfaction by ecalling Ambassador Landau "for consultation." Cerainly there are good grounds for bringing the three Chilans to trial to determine their guilt or innocence on the vidence given by Townley.

But the U.S. may have chosen the wrong means to chieve this end. There is something incongruous about imultaneously appealing through the judicial process nd exerting executive pressure on the regime. We hould have chosen one method and pursued it to its ogical conclusion. The *Washington Post*'s South Amerean correspondent Charles Krause has argued that, Had the Administration thought that Chile's Supreme Court would not or could not decide the extradition case ndependently and fairly, it never should have put the natter before the Court in the first place. Instead, it hould have gone directly to General Pinochet. . . . But nce the U.S. decided to go the legal route, it accepted he competence of the Supreme Court to examine the vidence . . . based on Chilean law and procedure—not n American law and procedure." According to Krause, he Chilean judge's decision is not inconsistent with ractice in countries having systems similar to that of rance, where plea-bargaining (à la Townley) is not ondoned, and where a judge orders a trial only on overvhelming evidence.

Where do we stand now? We are appealing through he judicial process—as if we believe in it—and we are imultaneously exerting political pressure on the executive branch—as if we don't. What do we want Pinochet to do while we are appealing? He can now simply rest his position on the findings of the Court and, indeed, if he doesn't, he appears to be contemptuous of the Court. Had we gone to him in the first place and had he refused to deliver up the three officers (remember, he had previously delivered Townley), the U.S. would then have had grounds to apply political pressure on the executive branch. But having lost at the Chilean bar of justice, how can we now ask the executive to circumvent the judiciary?

Perhaps the full court or Pinochet will ultimately find a way to try the three suspects in Chile. But by going the judicial route, losing, and then appealing over its head to the executive, the U.S. has complicated the problem of extradition. Instead of the end justifiying the necessary means, we may find that the choice of means has determined the end.

Turkey—Out of the Night?

Little by little the Congress is extricating itself and Turkey from the nightmare into which both were plunged by Congress' four-year sally into making foreign policy by legislative fiat. With the aid embargo off, and the effort to salvage Turkey as an eastern NATO anchor on, the Senate has overridden the Foreign Relations Committee by voting to provide $50 million of military aid as a grant instead of a loan. The sum is not great, but the action is symbolic. The Turkish economy is desperate and a Euro-Japanese consortium is being organized to raise a $1-billion fund next year. In passing the grant the Senate was gratefully acknowledging Turkey's agreement to reopen talks on Cyprus.

Crucial to the Administration is the establishment of a surveillance program to monitor Soviet performance under SALT II. This is essential to prove to the Senate that SALT II is "verifiable." Actually, the contemplated program does not provide sure-fire verification. But without it, the Administration is lost. Turkey, however, no longer supports automatically everything the U.S. does or wants. Indeed, Ankara has let it be known that the U-2 project will be judged in the light of "Turkey's own security relation with its neighbors" (read USSR). This is a measure of how far the U.S. world position has sunk.

This places the Soviet Union in a curious position. It is committed, under SALT II, not to interfere with "national technical means" of verification. Were the Soviet Union to oppose the Turkish-based program, it would virtually ensure Senate defeat of SALT II. On the other hand, the USSR takes a narrow view of "national technical means," a formula which it uses to *limit* verification rather than to facilitate it, since Moscow has the advantage of being able to exploit the American open system as a means of verification. Quite possibly, the

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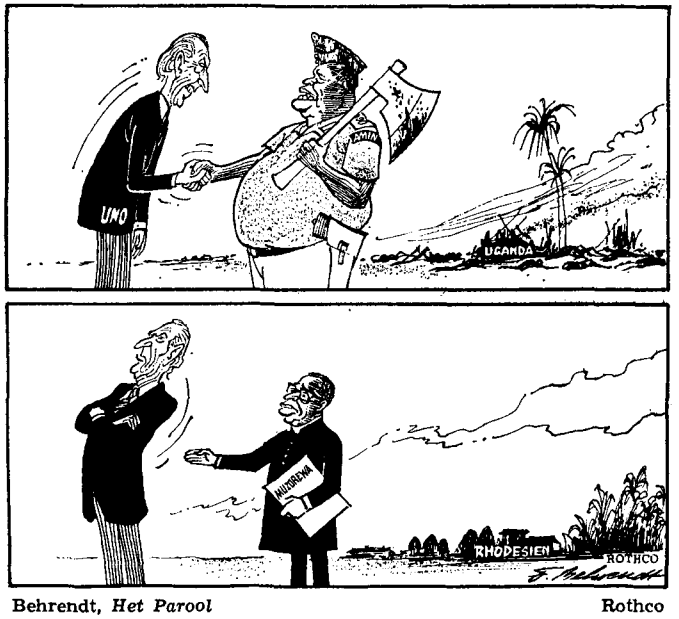
USSR would prefer to regard the Turkish U-2 program as outside the formula since it is not truly "national"—after all, it does require Turkish cooperation. In that event, the Soviet Union might simply maintain silence (which it does quite easily) in order to avoid explicit sanction of anything that actually facilitates verification. Moreover, the Soviet Union would prefer to keep its flexibility to protest the U-2 flights at some later date, or even to shoot one down if it should accidentally stray over the border. Finally, we cannot expect the USSR to help us in regaining our favored position in Turkey. For that, we have to rely on ourselves.

Fast Fade

Many thousand boat people after liberation, the new Vietnam is "still in a shambles." Thus *Newsweek*'s Arnaud de Borchgrave. Hanoi's rulers are "aging Stalinists" bent on fulfilling Ho Chi Minh's dream of an Indochinese empire. Their imperial ambition has not only cost them (not that they mind) fifty thousand casualties in the China skirmish alone, but has kept the survivors impoverished. The average monthly income is under $20; a black market thrives, with systematic corruption going all the way to the top. Hanoi police lately arrested three hundred people for copulating in the city park. Not kids—married people. The lovers found more privacy in the park than in their state-allotted 16 square feet of dwelling space.

In the South, a quarter-million people are held in "re-education camps" where malaria is rife. The "new economic zones" purportedly set up to relieve urban crowding are "virtual concentration camps." The Southerners cordially hate the Russian visitors (several of whom have been murdered) and rooted for the Chinese in the recent conflict. The North has more freedom, but not much: "Vietnam's leaders have forged a nation of informers motivated by fear." Even an East German journalist comments: "These people are flat on their backs."



Behrendt, *Het Parool* Rothco

At the moment of conquest in 1975, the liberal press found plenty of silver linings. Columnist Shana Alexander even objected to our "babylift" on grounds that the children were being deprived of the superior "social services" Hanoi's administration would provide. And for a while Cambodia made Vietnam seem a relatively civilized place.

There was no real excuse for these illusions in 1975. There is even less excuse for impenitent silence now. We often hear complaints, from liberal pundits especially, about our throwaway culture, in which everything is disposable. That is nowhere truer than in the irresponsible vapors that pass for enlightened opinion among us. The clichés last just long enough to justify liberal policy prescriptions. When disaster ensues, we are counseled to "avoid recriminations," and the words of our opinion leaders fade away, like the hopes of our allies.

If the journalists are keeping mum, at least one veteran protestor isn't. Joan Baez is circulating an open letter to the government of Vietnam, urging it to end its mass terror and imprisonment. Items: "The jails are overflowing with thousands upon thousands of 'detainees.' People disappear and never return. People are shipped to re-education centers, fed a starvation diet of stale rice, forced to squat bound wrist to ankle, to suffocate in small boxes. People are used as human mine detectors, clearing live mine fields with their hands and feet." In sum: "Torture is rampant, life in general is hell, and death is prayed for." We used to think Miss Baez was a hopeless naïf. We were wrong. She is living in the real world, and honorably.

Cyrus Eaton, R I P

Cyrus Stephen Eaton was born in Pugwash, Nova Scotia 18 years before the end of Queen Victoria's reign. He studied for the ministry. In 1900 he went to Cleveland to visit his uncle, a Baptist minister, who introduced him to a couple of members of his congregation, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, who took an interest in the intelligent lad. He entered into business and made Cleveland his headquarters for the rest of his life.

If he had stuck to business, he would have rated a solid obituary notice by reason of his unflagging activity on a heroic scale: it sometimes seemed he bought and sold whole industries. Electric utilities, iron ore, steel, railroads, banks, investment firms, shipping, paint, rubber, aviation—he was in all of these, at one period sitting on as many as forty boards. He left a great fortune, a lovely farm near Cleveland, and a quiet five-hundred-acre estate in Pugwash.

Pugwash has become the metaphor for that other side of Eaton's career, that aspect that removes him from the

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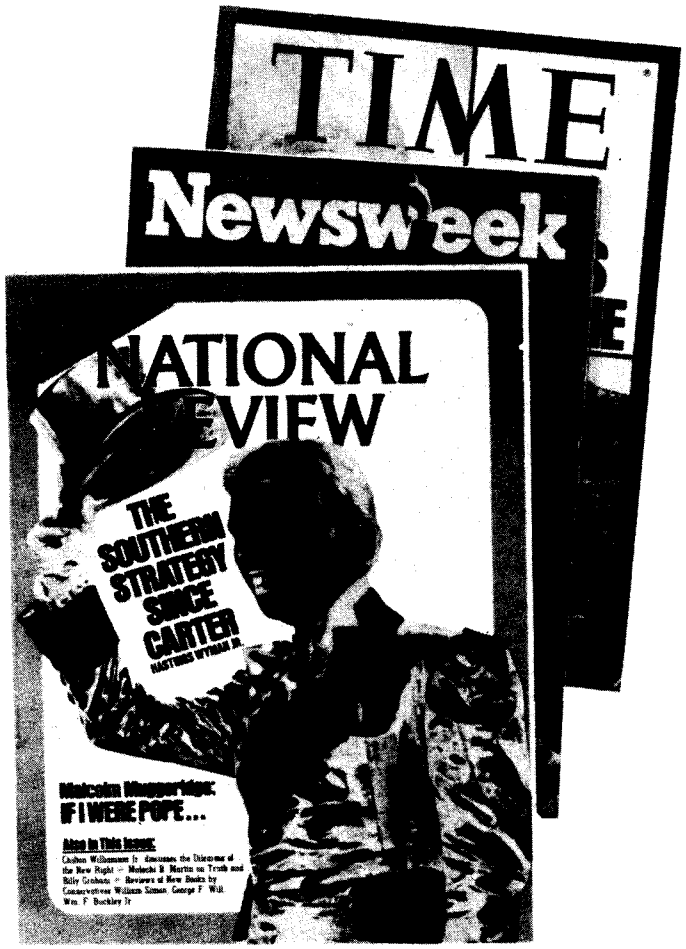
You won't find these articles in TIME or NEWSWEEK

- **The Imperial Press**
  (Was Spiro Agnew Right?)
  by William P. Cheshire
- **Tax Indexing Scores a Needed Victory** Donald Senese explains
- **The Fall of Marx**
  An intriguing perspective by Thomas Molnar
- **Salt II:** *The Awesome Implications*
  - Norman Hannah analyzes the political and strategic consequences
  - Adm. Thomas Moorer (Ret.), former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, considers the military dangers
- **What's Behind Today's Car Prices and Billion Dollar Bumpers**
  Jack Solomon investigates
- **The Honest Man's Guide to Plagiarism** John Greenway tells all
- **A Fourth of July Tribute to Harry V. Jaffa** by Charles Kesler



But you *will* find them in coming issues of *National Review* (and *only* in *National Review*). Articles like these are important to you for this good reason —*they keep you in touch with the "other" point of view* and that's come to be a necessity for the truly informed person in these days of "homogenized" news reporting.

What's more, you'll find that keeping up with the news the NR way helps you to better evaluate what you *do* read in the "news magazines" (or see on TV). NR gives your own opinions the critical balance that can make your views and conversations more interesting—because it's one magazine that really *does* give you the view from the other side. And backs it up.

But the benefits of getting *National Review* regularly don't stop with this special coverage of current events. There is an abundance of other features to expand your horizons and delight your sense of humor. The book section with its discerning reviews of really important books is a treasure in itself. Movies and plays get the same unusual treatment. There are also articles on the latest in travel, food and wine, music, and so on. To say nothing of the inimitable cartoons of Gauerke, Mal and others. In short, the regular readers of *National Review* keep up with the arts and manners of our times – but from a refreshingly different point of view.

All of which makes NR one of the best buys around. And all *you* have to do to start enjoying this genuinely interesting magazine regularly is to fill out the postpaid card (opposite) and mail it back to us. It entitles you to ten big issues (20 weeks) of *National Review* at the special low rate (for new subscribers only) of just $7.50. A bargain price indeed for some of the best journalism in America. Send in the handy card today. It's the first step in the *right* direction.

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chronicle of commerce and sends his shadow down the long corridor of the history of East-West relations. By 1932 Eaton had learned that it is important to function in free-market ventures and perhaps even more important, even more profitable and easy, to swing deals in areas where politicians pull strings. He switched from Republican to Democrat. He not only adopted a long string of powerful friends on that side of the aisle, but made doubly sure of his position by championing their favorite causes. He railed against Wall Street. He heaped scorn on the FBI. He compared the IRS and the Department of Agriculture to the Gestapo. And starting more than twenty years ago he sponsored the "Pugwash conferences," to which he invited Soviet and Western scientists and officials for the purpose of pushing unilateral disarmament. He became famous as the foremost non-Communist advocate of friendship with the Communist bloc. He and Nikita Khrushchev exchanged visits. Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikoyan was a regular guest. He assailed Chiang Kai-shek. In all these long years he was never heard to utter a word of disapproval for the murderous and sadistic regimes that sprang up, under Communist protection, from the Caribbean to Africa to Eastern Europe to Asia.

His position was that he was a businessman and that closer business ties would mitigate the baleful economic effects of Communism. Swing a deal with Moscow and the Lord will make you free! A naïf like the first Henry Ford or a dotard like Bertrand Russell may be forgiven, but Eaton had studied the ethical literature and prided himself always on reading widely and well; and he was sharp as a tack. Whether he inwardly burned to serve the Communists the Lord only knows, but that in fact he served them long and well may be seen eventually in the obituary notices in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

Charles Frankel, R I P

A teacher of philosophy at Columbia, a lucid writer, a public figure, and for a time an Assistant Secretary of State, Charles Frankel described himself as a liberal. The central theme of his intellectual life was an effort to keep modern liberalism morally and intellectually respectable, a strenuous undertaking.

Charles Frankel knew, as he wrote in an important essay in NATIONAL REVIEW (December 1, 1970), that "a social outlook, as it moves out into the political arena and cultural marketplace, inevitably picks up a large number of adherents whose relation to it is like Pavlov's dogs' to their bell. They simply salivate when they hear the right sounds. Accordingly, there arises, at a second level, a cheapened version of the original outlook, louder but flabbier. If a core outlook expresses skepticism about human wisdom or goodness, its debased version will be cynical; if it is marked by compassion for suffering, its shrill partner will turn this into a belief in the superior virtue of those who suffer."

Placing a high valuation on freedom, Frankel sought to remove the superstition from liberalism. His "critical liberalism," he saw as an approach to social problems without preconceptions or fixed ideology, as a search for reasonable answers.

On May 10, this reasonable and valuable man entered the universe of Sartre, Beckett, and Camus, perishing in an encounter with the absurd, murdered along with his wife in his suburban home by burglars.

The Senate on Rhodesia

It was like a kidney punch,
Hitting Carter over lunch.
Could you hear the air expelled?
Anyway, the cat's been belled.
Now, when Carter, Young, and Vance
Do their "Whites Are Beastly" dance,
We can say we won't be bulled,
Since the rug has just been pulled.

W. H. VON DREELE

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

I was startled to open the *NR* of May 11 and discover, over the table of contents, a photograph of someone identified as "Ross" who was not me. I was, in fact, amazed when I realized that the solemn character in question was none other than my old nemesis from high-school days, Mitchell Koss. Once upon a time, schoolteachers would exalt his wit and deplore my illegibility when they meant to do precisely the reverse. Now the confusion which once paralyzed a single suburban Detroit high school has, for no apparent reason, assumed national proportions. I had heard from Joe Sobran that Koss had appeared in *NR*'s offices one day, attempting to sell an advertising column. He was always an artful fellow, and, apparently, while failing to sell the column, he managed to convince *NR*'s staff to put his picture in the magazine. In the great tradition of our long acquaintanceship, he had this done at my expense. This could set me back five years. Doubleday and I were planning an unveiling, later this year, of a new portrait of me by Mr. Jim Aplin which will appear on the jacket of my next book, *Invitation to the Eighties*. With the exception

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of one newspaper exposure, my face has never appeared in public print. Now the readers of *NR*—potential book-buyers all—will lose interest in the ceremony. They will calculate that they have seen the face of Ross, and that it is uninteresting. In fact, all they will have seen is the face of Koss, stealing my scenes as ever.

Yours in grief,
Mitch
[Mitchell S. *Ross*]

Dear Bill:

Will you do me as great a favor as any I can think in the entire universe, throughout all time, and that is make your way to the picture (in fact, any and all pictures) of me in your photo files and shred & burn it (them), substituting this one. The one you showed in the latest issue must have been taken just after I reached age 21. And I am now 65. PLEASE!!!!! Yours ever,
Bob
[Robert Nisbet]

Okay. But we can't tell the difference. Cordially, Bill

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Now that the storm troopers of social conscience are again parading the streets of America. *NR* reveals a case of ideological schizophrenia. . . . Comes a review of *The China Syndrome* by Mr. John Simon [May 11]. In it, the reviewer praises the movie to the skies and strongly exhorts people to go see it and admire it. *NR*'s split personality begins to loom ominously . . .

If Mr. Simon has nothing more to say about *The China Syndrome* than the usual professional babbling about a "taut, intelligent . . . thriller," its "excellence" and "robustness," and Jane Fonda's "awakening [of] social consciousness"—one begins to wonder where NATIONAL REVIEW stands in the crucial struggle for rationality and the ethical substance of popular art. *The China Syndrome* is a movie constructed upon two giant (also fatuous) fibs: that a businessman's soul is so overpowered by greed that the prospect of a couple of million dollars will make him gleefully inhale radiation; that in today's America, the media are terrorized by industrial corporations and not the other way round. Even if such "truths" are inculcated (or propagandized) with cinematic skill, no intellectually responsible critic should have difficulty in exposing and condemning them. But Mr. Simon reinforces them with a cute remark that movies of late "have tended to spare big business, which here at last gets its well-deserved lumps." Thereby, NATIONAL REVIEW seems to be on the lookout for an anti-nuclear Upton Sinclair, and appears to believe that his art and dialectics would still constitute a sociocultural message worthy of promotion.

Leopold Tyrmand
Chronicles of Culture
Rockford, Ill.

Dear Mr. Tyrmand:

The idea governing the back of the book, as the Books, Arts & Manners section is designated in most journals, is to permit maximum freedom of civilized comment. There ought not to be any presumption that the opinions of a book or movie reviewer are zygotically linked with those of the editor of the journal. (Or, by the way, vice versa.) It would not be anarchic to see, in the back of the book, dramatic praise for a movie simultaneously denounced in the front of the book. The editorial section tends to look at movies in search of ideological tendentiousness—in the case of *The China Syndrome*, the usual hobgoblinizations by the tedious Miss Fonda. But there is no point in denying the polemical art of these folk. To do so, for instance, would require one to pan *Dr. Strangelove*, one of the best-made movies of our time . . . Mr. Simon is full of crotchets, some endearing, some not. His throwaway about "big business deserving its lumps" disturbs us not at all. Solzhenitsyn has said it much more strongly. Whether he had in mind exactly the same thing Simon did, we do not bother to inquire. Big business' failure to do things big and small—to back conservatives on college faculties, to advertise in NATIONAL REVIEW, to support convincingly right-minded candidates for office, to finance conservative-oriented film projects (e.g., *When the Kissing Had to Stop*)—certainly suggests that big business deserves criticism. One of James Burnham's seminal books has a chapter entitled, "The Suicidal Mania of American Business." John Simon correctly characterized the movie as first-rate. Its thesis is as stupid as Miss Fonda. So? Is Marlon Brando a bad actor because he sends squaws to acknowledge his Academy Awards? Whoever said John Simon was politically intelligent? Who cares? Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Bill:

I was both amused and annoyed at the reference by Richard Brookhiser to my alleged "statism" in your estimable journal [May 11]. In view of your wide experience in these matters, could you advise me whether I have a valid basis for a libel suit? If so, do I bring it against Brookhiser or you? And what damages should I seek? Cordially yours,
Milton
[Milton Friedman]

Memo to: Bill
From: RB

Every time I write about the Philadelphia Society, I offend one conservative intellectual. Last year it was Thomas Molnar. At this rate, I will be a pariah by 2179.

Please assure Professor Friedman that the reference —"David Friedman, emancipated from the statism of his father, Milton"—was ironic, as in "Wilhelm Friedemann, Bach, emancipated from the aesthetic strictures of his father, Johann." **—WFB**

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Rollback, Mark II

The Protracted Conflict

BRIAN CROZIER

I SHALL RESIST the temptation to cover the British elections all over again, but I cannot refrain from indicating some areas in which Margaret Thatcher's famous victory is directly relevant to this space. The master area, if I may so put it, is of course the Soviet Union and what it is up to the world over. The sub-areas are therefore numerous, and include Europe, SALT II, Africa, the Far East, and all the seas and oceans. They also comprise technology and the capitalist system, including international banking credit. Is there, indeed, anything anywhere that is not a "sub-area"?

In office, as distinct from opposition, even the most glowing of conservative hopes faces sobering pressures—from more timid colleagues, from the nasties of the trade unions, from the immobilizing hand of the Civil Service. Still, there can be no harm in stating some of the expectations legitimately aroused by the presence in 10 Downing Street of the holder of an Order not, to my knowledge, previously awarded by the USSR: the Order of the "Iron Lady," holder the Rt. Hon. Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, MP.

To live up to that title in the fullest sense, Britain's Prime Minister will have to act on the awareness that the strengthening of her country's run-down defenses, although a necessary first commitment, is not in itself enough for an Iron Lady. In addition (and since she alone among Western leaders has publicly manifested a true perception of the Soviet threat), she will have to take major initiatives and set an international example in dealing with the whole range of hostile activities which collectively constitute World War III: terrorism, subversion (including propaganda and agitation, disinformation and psychological warfare), the use of surrogate forces, the global marine threat to supplies of energy and vital raw materials, and of course espionage and the recruiting of agents of influence.

Even if the Thatcher administration took defensive action in all these fields, it still would not be enough to protect us adequately against an ultimate Soviet take-over. Ahead of all these measures in priority is a fundamental decision and irrevocable commitment (not necessarily, of course, to be publicly announced) to turn the tables of "peaceful co-existence" and carry the fight into the enemy's camp.

A New Forward Policy

Containment having yielded (as James Burnham foresaw) to appeasement, the logic of survival in World War III is a New Forward Policy, the ultimate aim of which can be nothing less than the destabilization and, in time, the collapse of the Soviet empire, including the system itself: a kind of Rollback, Mark II.

In one of the first of these interim columns (*NR*, January 5, 1979), I looked critically at the Shulman-Vance brand of inertia politics. If the mere enumeration of the inherent weaknesses of the Soviet empire is held to justify a policy of passivity and inaction, then there is nothing more to be said. But if it is perceived that the weaknesses themselves act as a powerful spur to the USSR's drive for world hegemony (to use Peking's favorite word), then it is evident that the weaknesses, contradictions, and tensions in the last surviving empire will have to be exploited and exacerbated for all we are worth if the crumbling giant is to crumble before we have all gone under.

In one sense, I am deeply in the debt of Professor Marshall Shulman, for it was his exposition of these weaknesses and of the superfluity of action on our side that impelled me to convene an international conference on this theme. The conference, held near Oxford and jointly sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Conflict (London) and the National Strategy Information Center (New York), brought together leading Western strategists and Sovietologists and will yield (but not until the late summer) a major report, the findings of which I sketchily anticipate here.

There was broad agreement on the propositions that:

► The Soviet empire is now perilously extended: it includes not just Eastern Europe, but Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, and Cuba.

► China is a thorn of growing dimensions, not to be ignored.

► Eurocommunism is a fraud, but also constitutes a problem for the Soviets.

► Although Marxism-Leninism permeates all aspects of Soviet life and provides the only legitimization of the regime and all its works, it is dead as an inspiring force.

► Religious and ethnic dissent are real problems, as are the exploding demographic pressure of the Muslim areas and unrest in Eastern Europe.

► The Soviet economic system is a spectacular failure; it cannot feed its people without grain from America and other Western countries.

► So weak is the system's international earning capacity that it needs Western credits to buy the grain and technology without which the system itself, and its fearsome armory, would be endangered.

Squeezing Their Credit

It will be seen that, quite apart from defense budgets, the Western powers and Japan already have the means readily at hand to face the Soviet leaders with the starkest of choices: either depress living standards still further, or drop out of the arms race.

This is the situation. And now comes the rub: how does one make the voters aware of it, and how does one make the elected governments act upon that awareness? The difficulties are formidable. For years, the great capitalist institutions have been encouraged by their governments to "sell" technology to the USSR. (The quotation marks are necessary, for the Soviets don't actually *buy* anything. They undertake to repay loans or credits—without which the transactions could not occur in the first place—at low rates of interest, which, at a time when the inflation rate exceeds them, amount to a partial giveaway; or in the form of products, including oil and gas, which Western or Japanese know-how has made it possible to extract. This "payment in kind" assumes Soviet good will, which can hardly be taken for granted.) Who will make the first move in this fraught situation? Could it be the "Iron Lady"? □

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ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

Libertarians & Conservatives

I. Libertarian Ideology

CONSERVATIVES ARE suspected of believing that the future will not be better than the past, and of tightly holding on to what they have, ignoring those who have nothing but hope for the future. "Conservative" thus rings gloomy to many ears. "Libertarian," however, sounds sunnily optimistic. Who is against liberty? or prosperity, which, we are told, comes as a bonus with it? But how to get, and keep, both? The libertarian answer is beguilingly simple: the government is the problem, not the solution. Do away with it, and we will all be free and prosperous. Society has been wrong for the last few thousand years in making laws and demanding obedience to them. Murray Rothbard will put it right. (The temptation to be flippant is hard to resist.)

Our more and more intrusive, restrictive, paralyzing, and costly government makes the sweeping libertarian ideology quite appealing. Thus, what was once regarded as a crank nostrum is becoming a fad. But libertarianism has also attracted some good minds and bears serious examination. So does the well-financed libertarian movement.

BOTH LIBERTARIANS and conservatives believe that only a free market can produce widespread prosperity; neither believes in vast, coercive redistributive schemes which are self-defeating—the intended beneficiaries hardly benefit—and (libertarians believe) immoral. Both believe that people are entitled to whatever they can earn in a free market; that individuals should have the right, singly or in corporate groups, to own, produce, buy, and sell whatever they wish, at whatever prices they can get, and to hire whomever they wish, at whatever wages are acceptable with a minimum (none, for libertarians) of government regulation or monopoly. Both groups believe that economic freedom is essential not just to prosperity and efficiency but also to individual freedom.

"Liberals" make the government the star player. Conservatives see the government as an umpire, or rule-maker, -interpreter, and -enforcer. Libertarians feel that the game goes better without an umpire.

Libertarians oppose all taxes and all public services (not always the services, but always their public, legal, and tax-paid character). Libertarians favor activities only when volunteered or *privately* coerced. Libertarians oppose public courts, laws, police, armies, roads, parks, education, health. They want no government whatsoever. Conservatives oppose many public services altogether and would have others performed by private industry. But unlike libertarians, conservatives do not believe that all laws, all taxes, or the state are immoral *per se*, or unnecessary. Liberty requires a social order articulated by laws. Government is needed to secure the rights of the citizens.

Libertarians oppose all taxes and all public services (not always the services, but always their public, legal, and tax-paid character). Libertarians favor activities only when volunteered or *privately* coerced. Libertarians oppose public courts, laws, police, armies, roads, parks, education, or health. They want no government whatsoever. Conservacess with compensation ("eminent domain"), e.g., to build a road. Libertarians would eliminate the licensing of planes, or pilots, or surgeons—of any profession, activity (e.g., marriage, or hunting), or installation; and anybody would be free to buy or sell any drug.

Conservatives, too, want to replace most licensing by certification. Just as there are CPAs, there could be certified physicians, plumbers, teachers, or barbers. Certification could be private or public, but would not grant a monopoly, as licensing does. There is no settled conservative doctrine on this, or on drug prescriptions, heroin addiction, or subsidies for mass transit. (A major part of conservative doctrine is not to settle things by sweeping principles but

Mr. van den Haag's most recent book is Punishing Criminals.

1. I have seen few references in the libertarian literature to the question posed by John Stuart Mill: Should you have the right to contract away, to give up, your liberty? Mill thought not. I agree with his conclusion, though not with his argument. (See my "Liberty: Negative or Positive?" *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* [Summer 1978].) I do not know the libertarian answer but suspect that libertarians might grant the right to contract for anything, including one's own slavery.

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> *Marxism, it should be obvious by now,* cannot *be defeated militarily,* cannot *be suppressed internally, and won't just go away. But it can be* superseded. *That is, the valid and objective need for revolution in the world can be taken over and redefined by a new ideology of change—an ideology, moreover, that does not seek to replace one form of dictatorship with another, but seeks a total and permanent end to political power.*
>
> **Milton Mueller,** *Libertarian Review,* August 1978

rather to look at one thing at a time and consider experience with alternative solutions. Libertarians, in contrast, have principles for everything.) Many conservatives are willing to modify public education through Milton Friedman's voucher system, which would return the choice of educational institutions to parents. But some education—however achieved—would remain compulsory. Nothing would be, in a libertarian system.

If not abolished altogether in a libertarian society, armies or police would become private groups without legal authority, financed by voluntary contributions. Communal health, welfare, and educational activities also would be financed by voluntary contributions. A number of ingenious (but doubtful) private devices would take the place of laws of public authority and of public enforcement. Legal tender would be abolished. People would use gold as money—unless they decided on something else; no central monetary authority would control the quantity of money and credit creation.

Conservatives are, well, more conservative. Convinced that there is by far too much government activity (taxing, subsidizing, licensing, and regulating), they would greatly reduce it. But they would consider the specific merits of each activity and decide case by case. About half the present government activities, employees, and expenditures could be done away with, with no significant loss to society. But it is the other half about which conservatives disagree with libertarians.

Conservatives believe in public (as well as private) roads; they believe in public defense, police, law, central banking, legal tender, and in taxes to pay for these things. Fire departments and other services might well be privatized to advantage—on the merits, however, and not as a principle. Government would remain, its power curtailed in some respects. Conservatives believe in limited government. But in some respects state power might be extended. Most conservatives would strengthen the ability of the government to apprehend and punish criminals, to impose the death penalty, and to control pornography.

SINCE LIBERTARIANS have turned away from their anarchist ancestors toward a free market, their views on economics overlap with conservative views. The libertarians' new name also is great public relations; "anarchism" does have a bad image. Old-style anarchists were opposed to private property and to capitalism. With the exception of Max Stirner, they believed in some woozy and incoherent form of decentralized communal socialism. In contrast, new-style anarchists—libertarians—take their cue from Ayn Rand; or (via Murray Rothbard) from Ludwig von Mises; or finally, via some of his Chicago disciples, from Friedrich von Hayek. Oddly enough, none of these would agree with the libertarian (anarchist) development of his doctrine.[2]

Thus, von Mises wrote: "Government as such is not only not an evil but the most necessary and beneficial institution, as without it no lasting cooperation and no civilization could be developed or preserved." Hardly a libertarian doctrine. Friedrich von Hayek writes: "Freedom is an artifact of civilization made possible by the gradual evolution of discipline [which] protects [man] by impersonal abstract rules against arbitrary violence. . . . Since we owe the order of our society to the tradition of rules which we only imperfectly understand, all progress must be based on tradition." This anti-utopian doctrine, too, is inconsistent with libertarianism. Libertarians are antinomians, i.e., opposed to law and traditional institutions. They oppose government in principle. They want to invent a social organization based not on history but on their rationalist principles.

Finally, Ayn Rand, who admittedly inspired many libertarians, has vehemently dissociated herself from their development of her views. She regards her would-be followers as silly and intellectually inadequate. She may have a point. So may the libertarians who attribute the repudiation to her personality.

THERE is something refreshing about the libertarians' unabashed defense of the free market and their attack on government interference everywhere. Some conservatives feel that libertarianism deserves support as a, perhaps exaggerated, version of their own belief in the free market—just as some liberals kept a soft spot for Communism as an exaggerated version of their own beliefs. They were wrong. So are conservatives who keep a soft spot for libertarianism. There are unbridgeable chasms on moral, political, and social issues: despite the shared belief in free markets—despite the shared opposition to big government, to excessive taxation and interference, to the restriction of our freedom in favor of a phony equality (actually of bureaucracy)—libertarian and conservative beliefs are mutually exclusive on essential

2. Many Chicago economists are sympathetic to libertarianism, although they are nineteenth century liberals rather than anarchists. (Hayek is very tender-minded about his libertarian disciples and has not directly repudiated them.) Some have a tendency not just to apply economics to life—which is fine—but to reduce life to economics, denying that it has any aspects which economics cannot exhaustively handle, and which should not be left to the free market.

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matters. Libertarianism is opposed to all conservative traditions, to tradition itself. It is inconsistent with the anti-utopian conservative view of life and society.

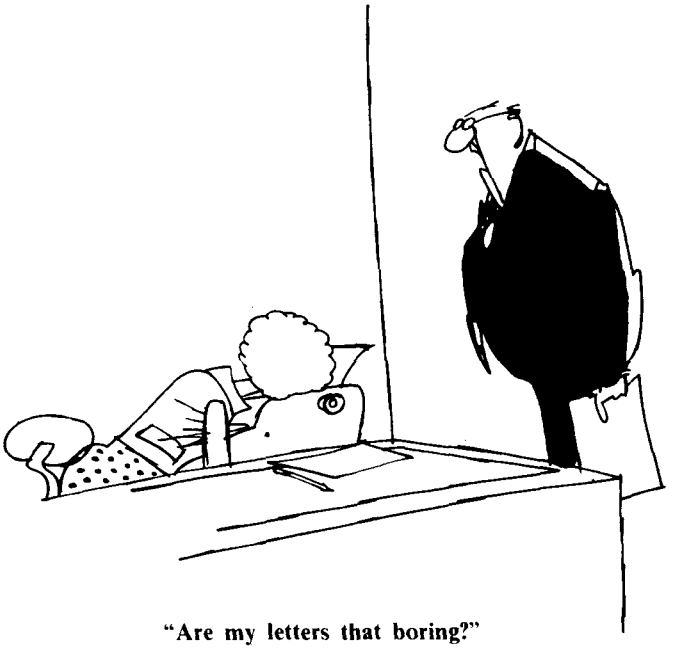
Conservatives believe that (limited) constitutional government is essential "to secure these rights"—to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Libertarians repudiate this insight of the Founding Fathers. They oppose all government, and they repudiate the need for social cultivation of the social bond, for public authority, and for legally enforced rules. They are opposed to the Constitution and to the American heritage. Indeed, libertarians repudiate essential elements of civilization as it has historically developed everywhere.

To paraphrase Lord Keynes, they "repudiate all versions of the doctrine of original sin, of there being insane and irrational springs of wickedness in most men. [They are] not aware that civilization [is] a thin and precarious crust erected by the personality and the will of a very few, and only maintained by rules and conventions skillfully put across and guilefully preserved. [They have] no respect for traditional wisdom or the restraints of custom. [They] lack reverence . . ." They are a belated offspring of the eighteenth century Enlightenment, of rationalism in its most virulent form. They believe that we can do away with the perennial tension between the individual and the group by denying the legitimacy of any social authority.

Libertarians rely on the rationality of individuals, thought of as rational economic calculators[3]—actually on the rationality of the living—to supply all the bonds and norms that are presently generated and enforced by the traditional social institutions. Emotions, values, philosophies, religions, national feelings, and symbols are not denied by libertarians; but they are rigidly confined to a private sphere, of which society need take no account, except by allowing liberty. (Although not by protecting it: in a libertarian society individuals have to find their own way of protecting their liberty from others.) Society is denied the ability to impose or even to publicly cultivate social norms and bonds. Only individuals and private groupings of individuals can do so. There could be no public regulation or enforcement of parental obligations, or indeed of any obligations—from serving in the army to not smoking in the subway.

I doubt that I would like a libertarian society, but I needn't worry, because it is wholly utopian (the word means "nowhere"). However, utopian thought can be dangerous. The desired Utopia cannot be achieved; but the destruction of an existing society may be. And it is quite likely to be succeeded by a worse one.

SOCIETIES, WHETHER of insects, animals, or men, survive and are held together by the solidarity produced through the mutual identification of members. Among insects or animal groups, mutual identification is secured by scent or other natural characteristics. It is thus that members of a species, or subspecies, or group—a swarm of bees, a termite society, or a herd of elephants—can have a shared organization, a society, and can act together to survive and to ward off outsiders. They have a social bond.



"Are my letters that boring?"

In human societies the social bond is psychic. A common culture, including language, shared institutions and traditions, and, animating all of these, shared values, takes the place of physical characteristics, or supplement them, in making possible human societies and subsocieties. Culture, added to nature, makes it possible for members of any society to recognize one another, to identify with one another, and to develop a minimal human solidarity which restrains them from eating one another and generally from using one another solely as means. We recognize that others, like us, are ends in themselves.

Solidarity starts within families and extends to ethnic groups, nationalities, and ultimately societies. All social life rests on it: we are human *qua* social, and social because socialized by social institutions, which impress on us shared values which we internalize. (Historically, religion has played a prominent role in this process.) Without these shared values and institutions, which are cultural and not instinctual, no society has survived. Nor can individuals, however much they may disagree with some values or laws.

Institutions form a social order, ultimately articulated and defended in essential respects by the state, through the monopoly of legitimate coercive power exercised by its government. Any particular coercion (law) of the state may well be contested. But libertarians object not just to specific laws, but to legislation, to the authority of the state, and to its coercive power *per se*. Libertarians dissent from history and from the political institutions it has created in all known civilizations. For, although political institutions vary, no society has been able to do without them, as the libertarians propose.

How do libertarians deal with the Hobbesian *bellum omnium contra omnes*? In one of two ways: 1) by denying that, in the absence of coercive laws, *homo homini lupus*. This was the view of most anarchists in the past. They thought that the state creates the evils it is presumed to

→

3. The economic model of man is immensely instructive. But models, to be instructive, *ipso facto* are meant to simplify reality by including only the features essential for their purposes. Such models should never be confused with the reality from which they are abstracted, any more than a map should be confused with the landscape it maps.

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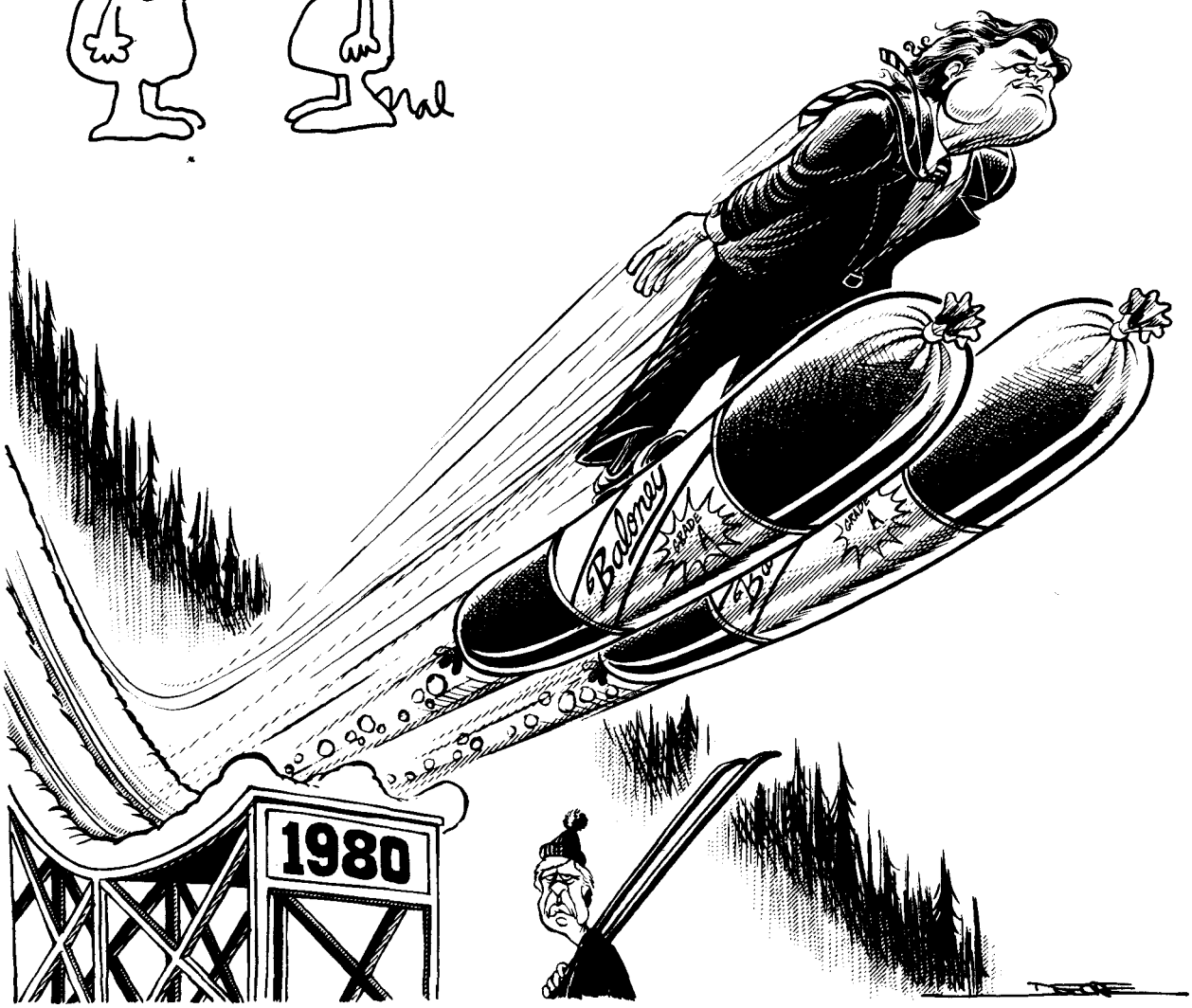
help!!!!

Required Reading

For Jimmy, as he's selling SALT:
The Punic wars and what they wrought—
For Carthage, that is. Also, see:
The Athens-Sparta rivalry.
Then, moving right along, review
What led to Lee's last rendezvous.
With that in mind, examine why
SALT's something we should ratify.

W. H. von Dreele



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"I've forgotten more top secrets than you ever knew!"

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> *The most flagrant example of continuing compulsory speech takes place in every courtroom in our land: the compulsory bearing of witness. . . . Here is a flagrant invasion of liberty, a flagrant abuse against the rights of the individual, and an initiation of force and violence against an innocent person. . . . Conscription of witnesses is no more justified than conscription into the armed forces or into any other service or occupation.*
>
> **Murray N. Rothbard,** *Libertarian Review*, November 1978

control. However, most libertarians now admit that people are not necessarily "born good" as J. J. Rousseau thought. Hence, 2) they admit the need for the enforcement of some rules; they contend that these rules could be enforced privately. Coercion would be imposed by private organizations that would form spontaneously. They would gain their power from the voluntary, rational, collective actions of members, who would be free to leave or join.

Your life would be secured by a protective organization you may join. It would protect you and "punish" those who would interfere with you. They, in turn, would join protective associations which would defend them against yours. Competing protective organizations would agree on arbitration of conflicts, or fight it out. The monopoly of legitimate force the government now has would cease to exist. So would the authority of the law. The coercive powers—but not the legal authority—now exercised by governments would be held by competitive private organizations.

The advantage would be small, if the private organizations would actually do most of the essential things governments now do. Could it work? As well as the Mafia, which these private organizations uncannily resemble. There is no reason to believe that they would be more benevolent, or that conflicts among them would be settled without violence any more than conflicts among Mafia "families" are. In fact, anarchy is actually impossible. The monopoly of legitimate force held by the state can be replaced only by polyarchy—which cannot but be worse.

The situation conjured up with much ingenuity by David Friedman and other writers is the situation we actually have now among nations.[4] Peace is maintained by a precarious balance of power, by mutual deterrence, by negotiation and occasional arbitration. But it is a precarious peace because there is nothing *above* the powers to adjudicate their conflicts and to deter violence, as the state does domestically. Thus, to abolish the coercive domestic authority which is the essence of the state is to force each individual to face, domestically, the situation each power now confronts in the international arena. Sovereignty, according to Bodin's definition, is *potestas legibus absoluta*: power not regulated by law. (The sovereign is the supreme lawgiver; he would not be supreme if he had to account to any earthly tribunal.) The individual would be fully sovereign in the libertarian non-society—and peace would be as precarious among individuals as it now is among the powers.

4. Besides being cleverer than most libertarians, Friedman is mistrusted because he is a utilitarian, whereas libertarians are firmly committed to natural rights, which they find all over the place.

The advantage of the present order is immense (despite international anarchy) precisely because anarchy and violence are confined to the relations among states. Owing to the authority and the coercive power of the government, individual life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness can be secured—which is why "governments are instituted among men."

Contrary to what James Madison thought, governments would be needed even "if men were angels." For the need for coercive authority arises not only from the wickedness of all, or of some, and from their infinite wish for power (palpable as these are); even among good men, even among angels, conflicts may arise that can be decided only by violence—unless there is a superior authority that can decide, and enforce its decision. Thus, although Ralph Nader thinks all good men are with him, some good men may feel that, in a given situation, nuclear power is better than no electricity. Other "angels" may disagree. Unless there is an authority (whether vested in a majority or in a court), force will have to decide the issue. Belief in a government authority, albeit a limited one, distinguishes conservatives, who continue to support the American Constitution and the principles underlying it, from libertarians, who reject it. Consider now a few particulars.

Externalities. Some things, or services, are desired by most people. But the desired things cannot be so limited that only those benefit who are willing to pay. The benefits of national defense, of the education of children (if their parents cannot pay, or if they are orphans), of public parks, streets, traffic lights, police, etc. are indiscriminate and diffuse. Nobody can be excluded for not paying, and voluntary contributions will not suffice. If such things are to be provided at all they have to be paid for by taxes—which libertarians oppose.

Other externalities are negative. An activity that is profitable to some persons may generate costs to others who do not profit, and who have not volunteered, for, say, pollution, or infection, or for having truck traffic nearby. If it is unnecessary, one may prohibit such activity. If it is advantageous, one should tax the activity so that those engaged in it profit only after paying all the costs, including those borne in the first place by other persons (who may be reimbursed with the revenue). Without the prohibitive power, or the tax power, or the power of the courts to enforce the payment of damages, all this would be impossible. Upstream people must be compelled to refrain from, or to pay for, downstream pollution. It is hard to see how the private downstream associations would be able to prevail over the private upstream association. Nor would it be possible to

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> *For the generation that came of age in the Sixties and inquired then as to why they should believe anything or do anything found that the authority of previous generations was a sorry spectacle indeed. God was a fiction; his representatives on earth, the bishops and famous preachers, were con-men who enriched themselves and their churches at the expense of their mostly poverty-stricken 'flocks'; our public men and our generals had lied us into imperialism and mass murder around the globe, the Vietnam War being only the grossest of many examples.*
>
> **Jeff Riggenbach,** *Libertarian Review,* **February 1979**

compel an unwilling individual to defray his share of the costs of a dam that benefits him as well as others.

Punishment. Libertarians believe variously that punishment for crime 1) is unneeded altogether, or 2) could be administered by private associations, or 3) could be replaced by restitution. But all libertarians believe that crime is a matter between victim and victimizer, a matter of retaliation or compensation, not an act that organized society must punish according to law, regardless of individual victims.

Those who believe in restitution alone neglect the obvious fact that, if he had to pay no more than restitution to the bereaved, a rich man would have a license to murder, and that anyone could murder or abuse those who had no chance to join protective associations—e.g., young orphans or those who have no one to whom restitution would be owed. Further, a burglar could go about his business, and pay full restitution when caught. Since burglars are rarely caught, burglary would become even more profitable—and frequent—than it is now. What restitution does a spy owe?

If restitution involves more than payment of the actual market value of what has been lost, it becomes punishment (which at least some libertarians want to abolish). Since most criminals could not pay, we would be back to a system of forced labor, which Murray Rothbard contemplates in *Assessing the Criminal: Restitution, Retribution, and the Legal Process* (Barnett and Hagel, eds., Ballinger, 1977, p. 261).

Ingenious libertarians have tried to meet these problems. Where they have been successful, the solution remarkably resembles the institutions it was to replace. In other cases, I cannot see any solution. Consider abortion. The question is: Should the fetus have rights enforceable by society, against the rights and wishes of the mother, when the two are in conflict? One can deny the fetus the status of a human being *in spe*. But there is nothing that commits libertarians to that position. Some, indeed, oppose abortion. But they could not outlaw it in a libertarian society: nothing could be outlawed. Nor could the fetus join a private security association to protect itself, nor ask for restitution or punishment. The parents, who are responsible for its extinction, certainly won't. Who but society could protect the fetus, or babies, incompetents, and orphans? Libertarianism ignores any social good unless individuals will pay for it or are willing and able to defend it.

Lest I be accused of making up these paradoxes, let me quote Murray Rothbard. About murder Rothbard writes: "The victim, or his heirs or assigns, could allow the criminal to *buy his way out* [Rothbard's italics] of part or all of his punishment." A rich criminal thus would be licensed to commit whatever murders he is willing to pay for, if the victim's heirs are willing to take the criminal's money, rather than (say) his life. Since libertarian principles require payment according to damage (not according to the criminal's means) wealth would license any crime so long as either only restitution is required, or the victim's heirs are willing to accept money in lieu of punishment. If no private claim for punishment or restitution is made—well, the criminal is lucky. People without heirs are bargains for murderers. If you want to get rid of your father whose only heir you are, you may hire a killer, or do it yourself. You are the only one who can claim compensation for the murder of your uninsured parent. You won't. Congratulations! You are an heir.

Rothbard contemplates no punishment, except what victims, their heirs, or their insurance companies want. He writes, "Suppose that A has severely beaten B; B now has the right to beat up A as severely, or to hire someone to do the beating for him . . ." It seems logical—though Rothbard is too discreet to mention it—that if A has ruptured B's spleen, B can have A's spleen ruptured.

To the objection that theft cannot be punished by theft,

"You should've seen Dad hang-glide . . . till he hit a tree."

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> *We are fast approaching a fundamental, historically crucial crossroads. The American Empire is in a state of crisis; after the failures of Vietnam, Iran, Angola, Nicaragua, and elsewhere, the interventionist foreign policy of the past forty years needs desperately to be re-examined and completely discarded.*
>
> **Justin Raimondo,** *Libertarian Review*, April 1979

defamation by defamation, Rothbard replies: ". . . Theft and forgery constitute robbery [!] and the robber can be made to provide restitution and proportional damages . . . defamation is not a crime." Rothbard does not explain who determines whether defamation is, or is not, sufficiently victimizing to authorize retaliation. The non-existent legislation?

The idea that a crime is committed only when there is an individual victim rests on moral obtuseness and is incorrect even with regard to minor violations. Suppose one of my students cheats. There are no individual victims. (I don't grade on a curve.) Suppose he bribes me. No individual victims. Yet, I think punishment is needed, if grading is not to become so unreliable as to damage society.

Rothbard does not tell how to punish rape, if it occurs by threats without actual assault. (With assault the rapist would in turn be punitively assaulted. Would he be raped?) However, he refers approvingly to Thomas Jefferson's "Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments," which he does not actually quote. I will.

> Whosoever shall be guilty of rape, polygamy, sodomy with man or woman, shall be punished, if a man, by castration, if a woman by cutting through the cartilage of her nose a hole of one-half inch in diameter at the least. [And] whosoever shall maim another, or shall disfigure him . . . shall be maimed, or disfigured in the like sort; or if that cannot be, for want of some part, then as nearly as may be, in some other part of at least equal value . . .

Rothbard may not entirely agree with Jefferson's selection of crimes. But the punishments are in the retaliatory spirit with which Rothbard wishes to replace laws. (I don't really believe that Rothbard is as bloody-minded as his views would indicate. But if he is not, he is unbelievably frivolous, or, what amounts to the same thing, infatuated with ideas the actual consequences of which he prefers to ignore.)

Randy Barnett writes, "without a real victim there can be no crime, [and] no compensation without a harm having occurred,"[5] and advocates replacing punishment with restitution, which he regards as a new (!) paradigm (!). He shares with all libertarians the idea that it is the individual victim alone (or his heirs or assigns) who has any claim against the criminal.

This notion is absurd. When a person fails to observe rules needed to secure everybody's life, liberty, or convenience (e.g., traffic rules) while others observe the rules as they wait in line, his jumping ahead may cause an accident with an individual victim to whom, indeed, he owes restitution by present law. But even if there is no individual victim, failure to observe the rules harms all those who did observe them and discourages them from doing so in the future. Unless punishment deprives the offender of the profit yielded by his violation, it remains profitable and places those who observe the rules at a disadvantage. They too could have gained by breaking the rules—they refrained because of fear of punishment. They lose the advantage they would have gained, while the violator gained at their expense. Of course, within a short span no rules would be left.

We all renounce rape, burglary, murder, and fraud because we are collectively better off that way. For this reason we try to make it costly for individuals to commit crimes. The criminal takes unfair advantage of our willingness to abstain from doing what he does. His crime does not merely harm the individual victim (if any) but all law-abiding people. Kidnapping or holding hostages on a plane harms specific victims. But even if they all were willing to forgive, or to be paid off, the kidnapper must be punished. His act endangers others besides the actual victims; it makes flying, and society, less safe. However necessary restitution to victims may be, the main issue is: Shall we all submit to law—and punish those who don't—or shall each of us provide for his own security as best he can? On this issue conservatives are for, libertarians against, law.

II. The Libertarian Movement

There are almost as many libertarian groups and ideas as there are libertarians—perhaps more. They range from the silly to the intellectually respectable. All these groups, and the magazines that articulate major libertarian ideas, are influenced by Murray Rothbard, who, it seems fair to say, is a spokesman for the libertarian movement as a whole if anyone can be.[6] Rothbard has written treatises on economics and philosophy which limned libertarian ideology. He is now the resident guru of the Cato Institute of San Francisco. Funded by Charles Koch (of Koch Industries), the Cato Institute in turn funds libertarian research institutes, conferences, and the newest and slickest of the libertarian magazines, *Inquiry* [see p. 740].

Unlike other libertarian magazines, *Inquiry* attempts to appeal to the unconverted. Nat Hentoff, an extreme civil libertarian in the conventional sense, but not a "libertarian" (he is a leftist socialist), is among *Inquiry*'s regular contribu-

5. *Assessing the Criminal: Restitution, Retribution, and the Legal Process* (Barnett and Hagel, eds., Ballinger, 1977, p. 376). By "real" or "harm" the author means "individual" or "harm to an individual"; to him society is not real and cannot be harmed. This view is shared by most libertarians.

6. Rothbard's contributions to economics are philosophical rather than technical. Clever, and competent in microeconomics, Rothbard is morally obtuse: blackmail to him is an economic service not telling for which the blackmailer is justified to ask for payment (this view, of course, goes beyond an economic explanation to a pseudo-economic *justification* of blackmail). In his notions of money and macroeconomics Rothbard is naive. Gold becomes a mystical article of faith. Generally, libertarian economists suffer from a degenerative form of the Austrian disease: legalistic philosophical principles derived from "nature" take the place of empirical studies. Economics is treated as a normative system (rather than as a predictive science), a series of platonic axioms and dogmata from which largely normative deductions are made. Positive (empirical) economics is neglected. (The original Austrians, such as Menger or Boehm-Bawerk were what "Austrian economics" degenerated from.)

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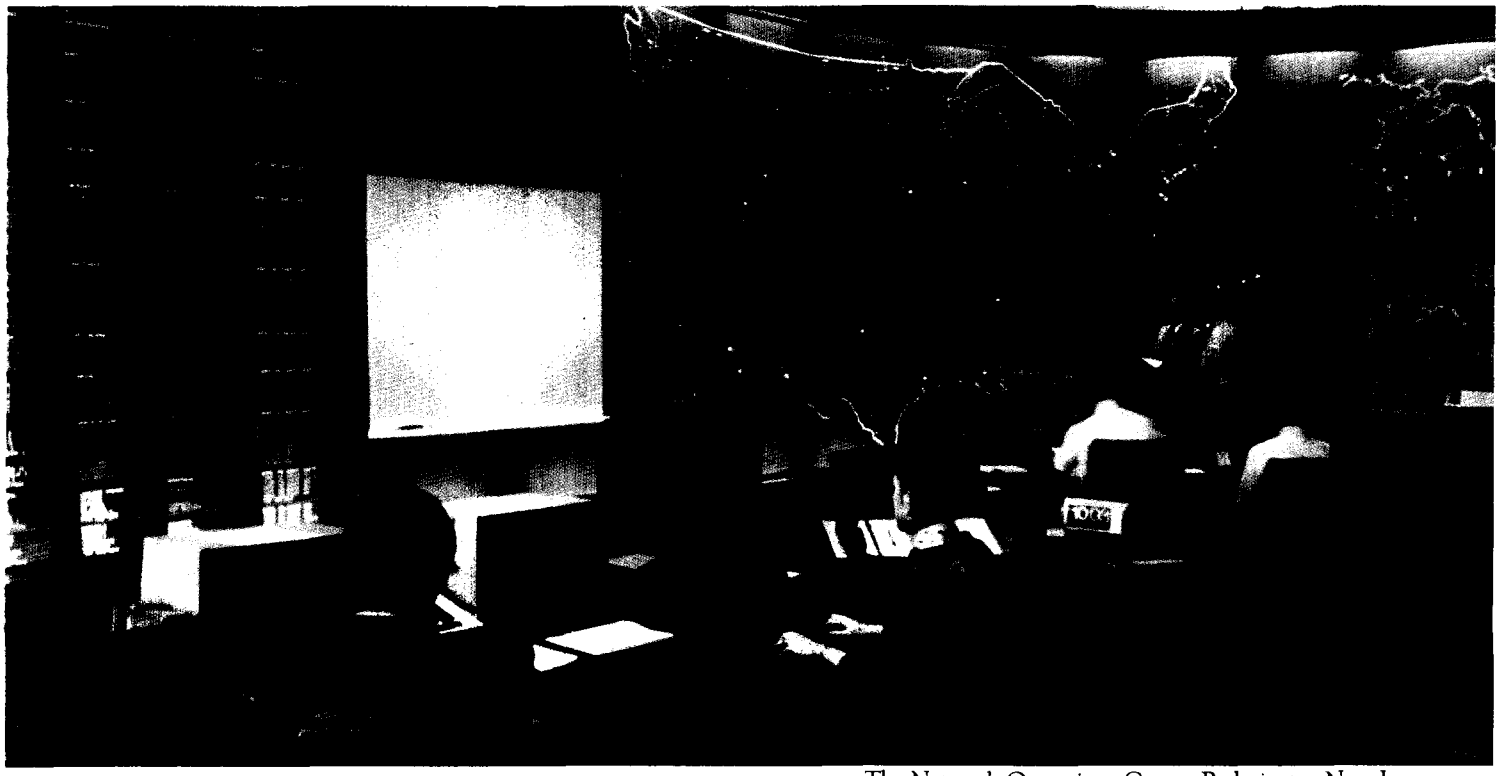

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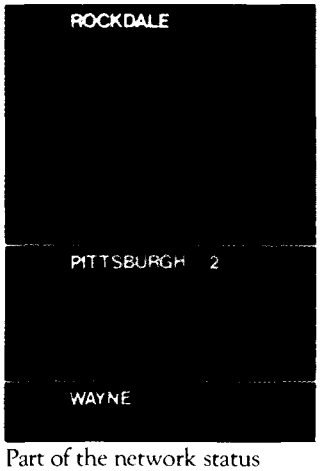
Thanks to all the people of the Bell System.



Part of the network status board, where NOC personnel watch for possible jam-ups.

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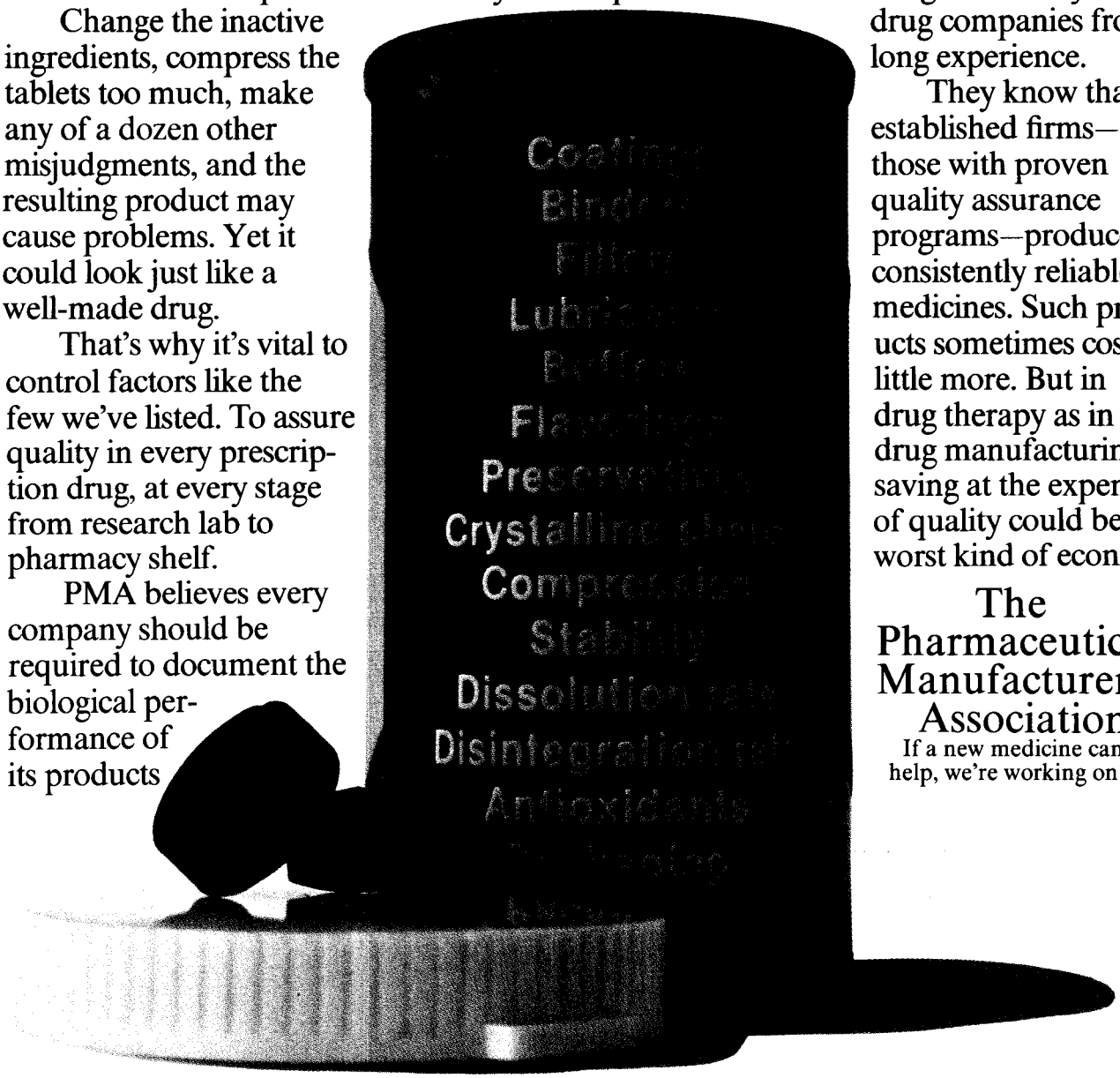
They know that established firms—those with proven quality assurance programs—produce consistently reliable medicines. Such products sometimes cost a little more. But in drug therapy as in drug manufacturing, a saving at the expense of quality could be the worst kind of economy.



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> *The problem is not the Soviet war machine and the solution is not to build a bigger American war machine. The problem is the war machine in both countries, the mindless bureaucratic process in which danger is the advertising slogan and is also the product. The solution for the United States is to stop racing, to stop basing our foreign policy on intimidating others, and to refuse to be intimidated ourselves.*
>
> **Richard J. Barnet,** *Libertarian Review*, November 1977

tors. Many other old and new leftists and *Village Voice* contributors have surfaced in *Inquiry*. But the magazine also publishes competent literary reviews, by critics who are no more libertarian than those in *The New Republic*. Other magazines, such as *The Libertarian Review* and *Reason* (the most intellectually ambitious and least extreme) have exclusively libertarian contributors and, one surmises, readers.[7]

On major political issues—national defense and foreign policy, Soviet expansionism, the domestic nature of the Soviet Union—the libertarian movement has consistently taken extreme leftist positions. Even on such issues as the history of the cold war, or the spying of Alger Hiss, the libertarian position is indistinguishable from the Communist position. (*Reason* magazine has been less leftist than the other magazines. But it is the exception.) The well financed movement magazines and groups led by the Cato Institute have unmistakably leaned Left.[8] Let me start with national defense:

► "Fears about Soviet intentions have been grossly exaggerated and systematically played upon. . . . these [American] militaristic rantings are wrongheaded, mistaken, and potentially disastrous." (*Libertarian Review*, July 1978.)
► ". . . unilateral initiatives such as banning tests and cutting back one hundred missiles with multiple warheads are very modest proposals for reducing tension and halting the Soviet-American arms race." (*Inquiry*, July 24, 1978.)
► "Libertarians should clearly welcome any move—reciprocal or unilateral—toward either military or economic disarmament." (*Libertarian Review*, July 1978.)
► "In the recent past, the American presence in Ethiopia—in combined numbers of civilian advisors and uniformed troops—has been, at times, as large or larger than the current Russian and Cuban presence . . ." (*Inquiry*, April 3, 1978.)
► ". . . recent Soviet activity in Africa has been largely a *response* to Western actions. . . ." (*Inquiry*, June 26, 1978.)
► "The time is ripe for a total and unconditional American withdrawal from Korea." (*Inquiry*, May 29, 1978.)
► ". . . we should not only withdraw our forces from Korea, but also eliminate those units from our force structure and dissolve our security commitment to South Korea." (*Inquiry*, December 5, 1977.)

It is fair to say that libertarians would be willing to disarm unilaterally, that they oppose any military or economic support for American allies, and that they feel that "fears about Soviet intentions have been greatly exaggerated." There are no doubt honorable exceptions. But they affect the movement as little as honorable and exceptional Nazis or Communists affect these movements.

This leftist view extends to the past as well:

► "Carter's resurrection of these antiquated cold war postures is the worst kind of folly. The [American] policymakers . . . were responsible for wars in Korea and Indochina, the acceleration of the arms race, the waste of hundreds of billions of dollars." (*Inquiry*, May 15, 1978.)
► "It should occasion no great surprise, then, if . . . a democratic and relatively far freer United States has been more aggressive and imperialistic in foreign affairs than a relatively totalitarian Russia or China." (Murray Rothbard in *Libertarian Review*, April 1978.)

Rothbard's view, though recognizing that Russia and China are "relatively" totalitarian, insists that the U.S. has been more "imperialistic." To write of "a relatively totalitarian Russia or China" is as helpful as writing, "Hell is relatively hotter than heaven." Only a person who believes the difference unimportant would write in this manner.

Rothbard's faith in the greater imperialism of the U.S. is supported by such gems as these:

► "But if one disregards the Russian conquests in Eastern Europe, there is relatively little evidence remaining of Communist imperialism. There are occasional minor interventions, in Africa and elsewhere, but these are nowhere near the scale of a great many American interventions since the Second World War." (*Libertarian Review*, March 1978.)

Indeed, "if one disregards" the fact that cannibals eat people, their diet hardly differs from ours, and one can point out that we eat *more* meat. Why should one disregard Russia's conquest of Eastern Europe? Or the reconquest of Czechoslovakia or Hungary? Why belittle the intervention in Africa (Mozambique, Angola, Congo-Brazzaville, Guinea, Somalia, Ethiopia, to name the obvious ones)? These are "occasional [and] minor." Cuba does not count (it is inconvenient). On the other hand the American imperialists . . . where have I heard this before?

► ". . . perhaps . . . their almost hysterical view of the alleged threat of Communism prevents [free-market economists] from acknowledging any dissolution in the supposed monolith of menace. Communist countries . . . are increasingly and ineradicably forced to de-socialize, and will therefore eventually reach the free market. The state of the undeveloped countries is also cause for sustained libertarian optimism. . . ." (Murray Rothbard, "Left and Right: The Prospects for Liberty," in *The Libertarian Alternative*.)

7. The libertarian movement has attracted more than its share of kooks, neurotics, and perverts. The attraction of ideas is not unrelated to the character of those attracted. But the ideas and the libertarian movement deserve analysis independent of the people attracted to them. I here confine myself to written materials.

8. Nonetheless, most libertarians are well-intentioned idealists. So were most Communists; the value of a cause is not determined by the good intentions of its followers.

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Besides Rothbard, not many people have noticed the "dissolution in the supposed monolith of menace" and the turn of the Soviet Union toward the free market. That "the state of the undeveloped countries is also cause for sustained libertarian optimism" tells us more about libertarian lack of realism than about the undeveloped countries.

Libertarians rationalize their proposed policy by denying the Soviet threat. Yet the Soviet Union spends a far higher proportion of its meager national income on armaments than Western nations do. (Their expenditure also buys more, since the Soviet Union pays its soldiers much less than we do, using coercion where we have to attract volunteers. This matters little to libertarians.) Libertarians also want to abolish the agencies that may inform us that libertarian thinking is, well, unrealistic:

► "The CIA should simply be abolished." (*Inquiry*, July 10, 1978.)

Any leftist found guilty in an American court must be innocent:

► ". . . is [Philip] Agee the victim of an international frame-up, hatched by the CIA and put into effect by the agency's European allies? . . . smearing Agee serves the CIA in much the same way as smearing antiwar activists served Richard Nixon." (*Inquiry*, July 10, 1978.)

► "*Perjury* is not a dispassionate book. Other historians, reading the same evidence, will undoubtedly differ with Weinstein's conclusion—that Alger Hiss committed perjury . . ." (*Inquiry*, May 29, 1978.)

How delusional libertarian positions can become is illustrated by Thomas Szasz, a professor of psychiatry at the State University of New York, and a regular columnist for *Inquiry*. Consider:

► "For the past decade the Western press has been waxing indignant over what it calls the political misuse of psychiatry in the Soviet Union. This is a case of selective indignation with a vengeance." (*Inquiry*, December 5, 1977.)

► "To my knowledge, Soviet psychiatry has not been used to suppress dissent (or to defame living or dead persons) outside the Soviet Union, whereas Western psychiatry has been so used. . . . The actual figure [of dissenters committed to mental hospitals in the Soviet Union] is still a small fraction of the hundreds of thousands of persons who are compulsorily hospitalized in the West—not since 1962 but *annually*—for their 'beliefs.'" (*Inquiry*, February 6, 1978.)

In both the USSR and the U.S., improper commitments take place. There is no reason to believe (and Szasz gives no evidence) that they occur less often in the Soviet Union than in the United States. In the U.S. these commitments are not used by the government to get rid of political opposition or dissent. Democrats make no efforts to commit Republicans; or conservatives; or libertarians; or Communists. Nor have Republicans made such efforts; nor has any American Government. However much commitment procedures are abused in the U.S. (less so now than in the past, owing, in part, to the meritorious efforts of Dr. Szasz), they are not abused for political purposes. Dr. Szasz and the editors of *Inquiry* are in no danger of commitment for their political views.

However, in the Soviet Union the government has made a deliberate effort to label as insane, commit to institutions, and mistreat its political opponents. The government has found Soviet psychiatrists willing to use institutions as weapons against the political opponents of the Soviet government. At long last the civilized world and the profession of psychiatry have protested the use of psychiatry by the Soviet Union to imprison and torture its opponents and critics. One would think the "libertarians" would, if not lead, support such protests.

One would be wrong. Dr. Szasz and *Inquiry* insist that the Soviet government does nothing the U.S. Government does not do, except that the U.S. Government does it more often. This is patently untrue. The wrong persons may be committed in the United States; or one may believe, as Dr. Szasz does, that all involuntary commitments are wrong in all countries. But the U.S. Government does not use psychiatric confinement selectively to imprison its critics; the Soviet government does. Dr. Szasz either willfully ignores this difference (in which case he writes in bad faith), or does not understand it (in which case he is incompetent). There is a third possibility which he would, but which I cannot, rule out: an unmanageable obsession has taken possession of him.

Sanity and good judgment are characterized by the willingness and ability to make important distinctions. Libertarians fail to distinguish between the systematic Soviet use of psychiatric commitment as a political weapon against dissidents and the random, nonpolitical abuse of commitment in the U.S.A. by mistaken or foolish psychiatrists. Libertarians lack either the willingness, or the ability, to make crucial distinctions with respect to Communism.

Stalin declared that there was no real difference between the Nazism of his ally Hitler and Western democracy or social democracy (social fascism, as he called it). By siding with Hitler until Hitler attacked him, Stalin and his followers made the Second World War possible. The libertarian leaders who cannot see, or who soft-pedal, the differences between Western democracy and Soviet totalitarianism are apt pupils not of von Mises, who knew that difference quite well, nor of Hayek or Rand. They went to Stalin's school, and they side with the greatest enemy of liberty on this planet, the totalitarian system of Communism.

MURRAY ROTHBARD is not unaware of where he is pushing the libertarian movement—although I suspect that his awareness is selective and incoherent. He appears to have fantasies of becoming a libertarian Lenin. This sounds out of this world. It is. Still, here is Rothbard in his own words taken from his mimeographed *Toward a Strategy for Libertarian Social Change*, a monograph meant to outline the future shape of the movement.

► "Those critics . . . who attack Communists for being willing to kill capitalists . . . are incorrect; the problem with the Communists is . . . that their ends (e.g. dictatorship of the proletariat) are incorrect . . . the libertarian

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criticism is against Communist goals and principles, and not against their insight into the relationship between means and ends." (pp. 10-11.)

► ". . . The Marxists, as do libertarians, identify certain majority classes of society who are being oppressed by other, minority classes. . . ." (p. 35.)

► "Lenin . . . pointed out that nothing can be achieved . . . without an organization to advance and propound the truth in the real world. Hence the importance of the 'cadre' (those in full possession of the libertarian doctrine) . . . to transform the world . . . " (p. 50.)

► "Lenin grasped that mere amateurs in *any* field of endeavor . . . will get nowhere by themselves; that vital to the success of any endeavor, is a group of *professionals*, who are able to devote their full-time careers to advance of the cause." (p. 50.)

► "Lenin saw that every ideological movement necessarily begins as a congeries of small, local discussion circles, in which each member is an undifferentiated amateur, and whose actions are 'spontaneous' and unplanned. . . . a coherent national organization, an organization run by a cadre of professionals, becomes necessary." (p. 52.)

► "What is desperately needed . . . is the development of a strong cadre of 'professional' libertarians." (p. 51.)

► ". . . a special, very small, directing center must be set up; a network of executive agents must be developed. . . . What Lenin was basically doing was instituting a vitally important innovation: applying modern organizational theory and practice to a movement for radical social change. [Lenin's] concept of 'democratic centralism' has been bitterly attacked . . . but . . . members of an organization should loyally abide by the decision and by the directives of chosen officials so long as they continue to be members." (pp. 53-54.)

► ". . . with the cadre at the top of the ideological pyramid as the consistent and uncompromising ideologists, and then with others at lower rungs in possession of varying degrees of approximation to the truth . . . with a smaller number of people at each higher stage." (p. 60.)

► "A coalition or what the Marxists-Leninists call a 'united front' strategy maximizes the influence of the numerically small cadre. . . ." (p. 96.)

It is this "united front strategy" that leads libertarians to present themselves at times merely as committed liberals—as did Communists. Neither is to be believed. The Communists are totalitarians. The libertarians are—well, let the reader decide.

Lenin's creation of a centralized organization of cadres, obedient to central direction, ultimately and unavoidably led to Soviet totalitarianism. Not because of Stalin's wickedness (although he used the organization to serve his sadism and his power drive), but because of the means Lenin used to accomplish his ends, means which defeated the professed ends of Marxism, as Rothbard's would defeat the professed ends of libertarianism. Lenin too wanted to abolish the state, which he professed would "wither away" under Communism. Rothbard may be unaware of the meaning of his proposals. He may be unable to learn. In which case he is innocent and foolish. Or he may be aware. In which case he is neither.

The character of the libertarian movement is now such that all true lovers of liberty must oppose it. It has already achieved—on the intellectual level—a seemingly impossible synthesis: anarcho-totalitarianism. Incoherence, however, does not vouchsafe ineffectiveness. The libertarian-leftist coalition is already damaging in minor ways; and it is dangerous to the Republic in the future.[9] To support it is not only to cease being a conservative. It also is to cease being a democrat and a believer in limited government. □

9. Whether the libertarian movement will ever be effective enough to be dangerous to freedom is hard to say. Lenin and Hitler originally were centers of minuscule groups, yet both managed to become dictators.

Fun*versation*: Ann Landers and Pollyanna

Ann Landers: Your letter to me was signed "Blue."
It's clear a big change has come over you.
Pollyanna: I'm in a world-weary mood:
Everything in my life has suddenly come unglued.
Landers: Now I *know* the world is going to pot,
When Pollyanna herself cannot sugar-coat the
Gordian Knot
With cheer and bonhomie.
Pollyanna: I trust you are not making fonhomie.
Landers: Heavens no, child!
I can understand how even you can get riled
By bad news always rolling up on the beach.
I guess I just didn't expect it to leach
Away *your* optimism, too.
Pollyanna: I'm looking for a new
Lifestyle:
One that can look at the wintry smile
On the face of truth and not pollyannalyse.
Landers: You mean like not saying your star
might rise
When Newton's Law requires it to set?
Pollyanna: Exactly. Or pointing out, when
the cat is let
Out of the bag, that this is simply kindness
to furry creatures.
Landers: And how about calling something peachures
And cream when the stark
Truth is it's closer to something rotten in Denmark?
Pollyanna: Say, I'm starting to feel better already:
Like my troubled waters are now being attended to
personally by the estate of J. Paul Getty.
Landers: Things have suddenly gone to roses
from blue?
You feel again that Somebody Up There loves you?
Pollyanna: You better believe it. Whoever had been
sending me famine has just switched over
to his Pollyanna
Manna.

—JOHANNES EFF

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LAWRENCE V. COTT

Cato Institute &

The Invisible Finger

WITH SEX it would be pure Harold Robbins. Take a brainy and self-reliant industrialist running the family business, which happens to be an oil and gas conglomerate with annual sales of $3.5 billion. A man with, say, three engineering degrees from MIT and wealth estimated by *Fortune* magazine as one of the largest personal fortunes in the country, between $500 and $700 million. A man whose wealth and devotion to privacy are straight out of the Howard Hughes legend. An idealist fed up with the suffocating effect of big government and dedicated to individual liberty and absolute personal freedom.

Bring in some uninhibited friends, young and successful investment executives, who believe that just about *any* government constitutes unreasonable restraint. It is a position distinguishable from anarchism only in that some libertarians grudgingly acknowledge that there might be a need for some national defense, some police agency, and a court system.

Establish a foundation to disseminate the great truth, which of course includes Adam Smith's profound view that when an individual looks to his own gain he is "led by an invisible hand" to promote something unintended, the interests of society. Proclaim—nay, be rapturous about—the free-enterprise and limited-government ideas of Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek, who for sheer weight of dropped name are nonpareil among conservative economists.

Still too dull?

Then change the name of the outfit from something ponderous like the Charles Koch Foundation of Wichita, Kansas, to something cerebral-sounding like the Cato Institute; put it into a plush suite in a modern office building at the base of San Francisco's picturesque Telegraph Hill; and hire a well-compensated staff to sell the message, and more.

It was Anthony Harrigan who, in his newspaper column, first noted the Cato Institute's funny way—e.g., that its literature reported it was undertaking "a major, ongoing joint project with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. . . . [to] study the military, financial, and political implications of a strictly non-interventionist United States foreign policy."

The IPS, Harrigan noted, "is one of the principal New Left think-tanks and action groups"; among its employees was Orlando Letelier, the former Chilean diplomat from the Allende years who was murdered by a bomb in 1976 in Washington, D.C. (His murderers, said to have been directed by the post-Allende Junta's secret police, were convicted in February.) Harrigan noted that Letelier's briefcase yielded correspondence linking him to the Cuban intelligence service, the DGI, and recording his receipt of $1,000 a month from Havana while on the payroll of the IPS' Transnational Institute. (Letelier's Havana correspondent was Allende's daughter, who was married to the deputy director of Cuban intelligence. Letelier's DGI "handling officer" in the U.S. was Julian Torres Rizo, First Secretary of the Cuban UN Mission, according to a report inserted in the *Congressional Record* last year by Representative Larry McDonald.)

Harrigan thought the Cato Institute was "in over its head" with the IPS. Wrong, Mr. Harrigan—it is precisely in its milieu.

What would a libertarian groaning under an oppressive Federal Government choose to eliminate first? One might guess CAB, DOE, DOT, HEW, HUD, IRS, OEO, OSHA, CPSC, or TVA; census surveys, commodity price-fixing, crop surveillance, postal monopoly, or wage-fixing.

Not at the Cato Institute.

Its brochure promises it is making a "comprehensive study" of Social Security and preparing a report on petroleum policy, but in fact its major programs are: 1) to end domestic security work by the FBI; 2) to end intelligence activity by the CIA; 3) to restrict the Pentagon, with a view to disarmament and the abolition of the Army, Navy, and Air Force; and 4) for reasons of tactics (youth appeal) and purity, to legalize marijuana.

The Cato Institute doesn't fool around. Its 1977 CT-2 Form, a public document, reported a $1,000 donation (true, this is not large as foundation grants go) to the "Youth Project—Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberty" in Washington, to help the Campaign to Stop Government Spying (CSGS), commanded by Morton Halperin and run

Extra copies of this issue featuring Mr. van den Haag's major piece on libertarianism and Mr. Cott's report on the Cato Institute will be available for $1 each, while the supply lasts. Write Box EW, 150 E. 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016.

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jointly by the Institute for Policy Studies, Halperin's Center for National Security Studies, and the American Civil Liberties Union. One can see where that would appeal to the IPS, whose weekly *In These Times* modestly and inaccurately refers to itself as "The Independent Socialist Newspaper."

The CSGS works by intimidation (zapping federal, state, and local agencies with lawsuits), lobbying for anti-intelligence legislation (there *are* ways for tax-exempts to skirt lobbying laws), and surveillance and exposure of U.S. agents and U.S. secrets.

The Cato Institute gave another $1,000 to CSGS in 1978.

Its donation to the IPS of $17,000 was for the "major, ongoing joint project" on the Pentagon.

When the Charles Koch Foundation began in 1974, its directors were Koch (pronounced: Coke) himself, his libertarian friend George Pearson, and Roger MacBride, who became the Libertarian Party's 1976 presidential candidate. Koch endowed the foundation with stock in the family-owned Koch Industries, stock now worth more than $900,000. The foundation is worth $1.5 million; it raises and operates on a million a year. It maintains a staff of thirty.

The name, its literature explains, is derived from *Cato's Letters*, published in London in the 1720s, and which, it avers, provided some of the philosophical underpinnings of the American Revolution. The Cato brochure even names the old London newsletter's inspiration as Cato the Younger. Such prissy accounting makes one suspicious enough to toy with the notion that this is revolutionary fun and camouflage. It was Cato the Elder who ended every speech, "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Which country would equal Carthage in the Cato Institute's view of things?

The president and chief executive of the Institute is Edward H. Crane III, a strapping six footer who became a successful financial analyst in Los Angeles after graduating from Berkeley in the mid-Sixties; he was chairman of the national Libertarian Party from 1973 to 1977. Koch and Pearson also are directors, along with Sam Husbands, a vice president of Dean Witter Reynolds, and David Padden, president of his own securities firm in Chicago. But it is obvious that the Weltanschauung is provided by directors Earl C. Ravenal—a longtime fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies and, as a McNamara Whiz Kid, one of the draftsmen of our Vietnam disaster—and Murray Rothbard, author of *For a New Liberty: The Libertarian Manifesto.*

When pressed in an interview about Rothbard's views, Crane spent anxious moments separating the Cato Institute from its director and his book. But isn't the book called "The Gospel of Libertarianism"? "That's what Macmillan called it," said Crane testily.

He refused to be identified with Rothbard's call for unilateral disarmament. "I'd agree with Ravenal that 'enough is enough.' When you have enough to eliminate every man, woman, and child in the world many times over, you don't need more."

Could I see the Social Security study mentioned in the literature? It was still in preparation at Harvard, not available until June. How about that study on government petroleum policy? Crane reluctantly handed over a slender yellow booklet with the Cato logo. The much-ballyhooed study, it turned out, was a resource paper for high-school debaters.

Crane continued the Rothbard dissociation—he's hardly ever in, he's only one director, he's only one libertarian, he is only in Palo Alto (fifty miles away) to do a book on the Progressive Era. And he scoffed at any suggestion that Rothbard is an apologist for Communists.

But Rothbard *is*, in the clinches, an apologist. He's not a line-follower or a camp-follower, and he has criticized

> *Rothbard has to de-spook the Communists if he and his friends are to persuade Americans to roll over and trust to luck. He doesn't say, "Forget Pearl Harbor." He says, "Forget History"*

state oppression in Communist countries. But Rothbard is an apologist for Stalin, and his view is at the heart of "Big L" Libertarianism, and the Cato Institute is stuck with the Gospel according to Murray. Rothbard has to de-spook the Communists if he and his friends are to persuade Americans to roll over and trust to luck. He doesn't say, "Forget Pearl Harbor." He says, "Forget history."

It is Rothbard's belief, buttressed by the historical flimflam of D. F. Fleming and Gabriel Kolko, that the United States is imperialist and war-mongering while the Soviet Union is peace-loving, rational, and misunderstood. So is China. And Cuba.

The historical tone of *For a New Liberty* can be judged from Rothbard's assertion, "Before World War II, so devoted was Stalin to peace that he failed to make adequate provision against Nazi attack . . ." Which ignores his peaceful devotion in Spain (1936), the pact with Hitler (1939), his war on Finland (1939-40), and his annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (1940).

Rothbard's grant for the two-year study and the resultant book was provided by the Cato Institute.

Rothbard says libertarianism will find the most recruits among college youth responding to its call for "complete abolition of the draft, withdrawal from the cold war, civil liberties for everyone, and legalization of drugs and other victimless crimes." There is an activist campus program, and the Cato Institute gives week-long seminars in the summer at Wake Forest and Stanford Universities, charging only $40 for tuition, meals, a room, and materials, indicating the size of the subsidy an institute professing libertarian economics is willing to make to give potential converts the deep submergence treatment.

But it is unquestionably the call for disarmament that provides most of the incentive for the Left—such as the IPS—to coalesce with the Cato Institute. The explanation given in *For a New Liberty* of the salutary effects of disarming is Rothbard at his daffiest. 1) The Russians would leave us alone because they would no longer feel threatened by a libertarian America. Or 2) even if they came over and in-

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vaded they'd be driven *crazy* just trying to find somebody to accept surrender terms; or, worst case, 3) there's always guerrilla warfare: Rothbard believes in the right to bear arms, and he suspects that Americans would be *furious* and that "no Russian occcupation soldier's life would be safe from the wrath of a resisting American populace." Just anticipating that "sea of troubles" would give any Kremlin adventurer pause, he promises.

Cato Institute's program can also be assessed from its magazine, *Inquiry*, with a claimed circulation of 29,000. They sent me the January 1979 issue, a 32-pager. Only two ads, freebies, one for a prisoners' support group, one for Morton Halperin's Center for National Security Studies which, the ad states, is suing the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency, and "The Nixon White House."

> *Not one of the writers listed in the Cato brochure can be called anti-big-government. Their anti-state passions begin and end with national security, provided by the armed forces or the security services*

Inquiry's lead article called for a full congressional investigation of the murder of Orlando Letelier—not "just another intelligence committee hearing in executive session" but a full public hearing of "the wave of exile terrorism." Two Berkeley religious educators prayed that the Jonestown Massacre would not trigger a witch-hunt of cults, but their main point was that there be no probe unless there was evidence beforehand of "concrete allegations of violations of law."

Nat Hentoff of the *Village Voice* commented (in two and one-half pages) on the constitutional issues in the Myron Farber case; and Sidney Lens, aging organizer of so many demonstrations to make Southeast Asia safe for Pham Van Dong, inveighed (three pages) against Jimmy Carter's "idiot" civil defense program. Free-lancer Jeff Gottlieb condemned (two pages) Los Angeles police for spying on citizens and bragged that two undercover cops had their covers blown when the Coalition against Police Abuse "came into . . . possession" of a Los Angeles Police Department personnel list. Four pages tell how Texas police shoot first and interrogate later. Then "Chile's Murder, Inc." (four pages) by John Dinges, reprising the Letelier case, except for his briefcase and his DGI connections. And an admiring review of a Leo Szilard biography. One article was off-pace, inasmuch as it seemed to accord with actual libertarian (and conservative) values: Alan Crawford assessed John Connally's GOP chances (not great), mentioning that he was Nixon's pitchman for wage and price controls and an advocate of a national youth service corps. And there was a commendable review of Nikolai Tolstoy's new book *The Secret Betrayal*, on the forcible postwar repatriations to the USSR.

I picked up the December *Inquiry* at my local newsstand. One or two tapioca articles, Hentoff on school-board censorship, and *Berkeley Barb* staffer Bill Wallace attacking (two pages) the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit and California police departments that have intelligence squads. An article, "Trading in Repression: Brazil," railed (three pages) about the military regime there, in Argentina, in Chile, and in other countries, without a word about oh, say, Cuba. Author Penny Lernoux lives in Bogota; she is not only an *Inquiry* contributing editor, she is *The Nation*'s Latin American correspondent. An article, "Our Boy in Brazil" (two pages), by Rose Styron, a contributing editor, alleges the CIA taught torture techniques to Latin American military regimes. She mentions the Letelier assassination.

At least she knew him. They both attended the 1975 meeting in Mexico City of the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of the Military Junta in Chile, a transparent activity of the World Peace Council, well known as a Moscow-run front.

Prestige pieces—an Anthony Burgess review, a John Updike interview—fill out the issue.

That is the essential Libertarian magazine. In two issues, only two articles were remotely related to economic issues—a piece on Cleveland's Kucinich disaster and a Rothbard book review. There were the Crawford and Tolstoy pages. But the rest was an unrelenting editorial campaign against all American security services, almost to the exclusion of any other topic, and an apparent dedication to avenging the death of the Cuban agent Orlando Letelier.

Perhaps my samples were atypical. Not to worry, a Cato brochure is at hand, listing libertarian writers we have missed: Nicholas von Hoffman, Robert Sherrill (*The Nation*'s Washington man), Senator Eugene McCarthy, California Representative Ron Dellums, G. William Domhoff, David Wise (author of several anti-CIA, anti-FBI books), Gabriel Kolko, Noam Chomsky, ex-CIA officers turned CIA critics Victor Marchetti and John Marks, Marcus Raskin (co-director of the Institute for Policy Studies), IPS members Michael Klare and Robert Borosage, former SDS president Carl Oglesby, Peter Schrag (author of an admiring book on Daniel Ellsberg), and Tad Szulc (the author of a recent newspaper series suggesting that the KGB does little more in Washington than attend cocktail parties and clip newspapers).

Not a single one of the writers listed in the brochure can be called anti-big-government. Their anti-state passions begin and end with U.S. national security, whether provided by the armed forces or the security services. Some positively admire anti-liberty states, such as Cuba.

Oglesby, the founder of SDS, gave the best assessment of *Inquiry* in a promotional blurb: "I think this is a magazine that C. Wright Mills and Paul Goodman would have enjoyed . . ."

And the Cato Institute's grand fico, its invisible finger, becomes manifest when one realizes that at least nine from *Inquiry*—Halperin, Hentoff, Raskin, Klare, Borosage, Lens, Oglesby, Marchetti, Wallace—have been officers, advisors, or writers for *CounterSpy* magazine, the scruffy sheet once deceased, now reborn, which delights in exposing American intelligence operations and agents. That is, the crowd that is so relentless in avenging the murder of the Cuban agent in Washington is part of the *apparat* that exposed the American agent who was murdered in Athens. □

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Sanction in Rhodesia

The Lawmakers

M. STANTON EVANS

THE APRIL ELECTIONS for the newly created Parliament of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia have painted the Carter Administration and its policy on Africa into a narrow legislative corner.

Mr. Carter and UN Ambassador Andrew Young have tilted America's Rhodesia policy heavily in favor of the so-called Patriotic Front—the guerrilla forces operating from Zambia (under Joshua Nkomo) and Mozambique (under Robert Mugabe). This tack has aligned us with the Third World elements that dominate the United Nations, the military dictatorships and one-party states that rule the Organization of African Unity, and the Soviet and Cuban Communists who arm and advise the Patriotic Front guerrillas.

The cutting edge of this approach has been the enforcement of commercial sanctions against the Ian Smith regime, which across the years have taken their toll on the Rhodesian economy—creating unemployment among the nation's blacks—and signaled to the world our firm intention of toppling the Salisbury government. Under the International Security Assistance Act of 1978, however, the sanctions are to be removed, if and when the Rhodesian authorities comply with certain standards supposedly establishing their *bona fides*.

The first of these is a requirement that the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia transitional government set up by Smith and three black leaders express its willingness to sit down at a conference with Nkomo and Mugabe, in an attempt to settle disagreements peaceably. The second is a stipulation that there be a free and fair election, open to all comers and to international supervision, leading on to black majority rule. When these two standards have been met, the U.S. President is to lift the sanctions.

Smith and the other leaders of the transitional government met the first of these requirements last October when they visited the United States and expressed their willingness to attend an all-parties conference without conditions. The second requirement was met in April by the conduct of one-man/one-vote elections, closely inspected by 270 members of the press and international observers (including this writer, who went over with a delegation from the American Conservative Union). The overwhelming verdict of those who witnessed the proceedings was that the elections were free and fair and authentically democratic, despite repeated acts of violence by the guerrillas.

All of which would seem clearly to indicate that the Carter Administration is now obliged to change direction on Rhodesia, to lift sanctions and confer diplomatic recognition on the new government. Underscoring the propriety of such a move are the facts that a) the Patriotic Front refused to come to an all-parties conference or participate in the election, and b) we routinely deal with other African states which have no elections at all and/or maintain themselves through blatantly rigged plebiscites—not to mention our recognition of totalitarian regimes in the USSR, Communist China, and other places behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains.

NEEDLESS to say, the Carter-Young forces are none too pleased with these recent developments. The Administration refused to send observers to the election, thereby conveniently blinding itself on the issue of whether the voting was free and fair. Ever since the elections, it has dragged its feet on the question of lifting sanctions, while trying to fish up whatever data it can to discredit the honesty of the balloting. From this behavior it is apparent that nothing much is going to happen to change our policy unless Congress acts again to force the issue.

To this end, a number of bills and resolutions have been submitted to induce the lifting of the sanctions. One such is Senate Concurrent Resolution 24, proposed by Senators Richard Schweiker (R., Pa.) and Dennis DeConcini (D., Ariz.), and co-sponsored by Republican Senators Gordon Humphrey of New Hampshire, Harrison Schmitt of New Mexico, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, and Milton Young of North Dakota. This measure finds that the preconditions of last summer's legislation have been met and calls upon the President to lift the sanctions within ten days after the installation of the new black majority government. Companion resolutions have been introduced in the House by ACU Chairman Robert Bauman of Maryland (H. Con. Res. 110) and by Representatives Richard Ichord of Missouri and Paul Findley of Illinois (H. Con. Res. 73).

The only problem with the Schweiker-DeConcini approach is that it is permissive rather than mandatory, leaving the question of lifting sanctions in the hands of the President, although expressing the "sense of the Congress" that they be removed. More emphatic is a bill submitted by Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina (S-996), which would amend the legislation by which the United States participates in the United Nations to state that no executive order in compliance with UN sanctions against Rhodesia will be enforced. Identical legislation (HR-3715) has been introduced in the House by Representatives Bauman, John Ashbrook of Ohio, and William Carney of New York.

Senator Schweiker has summarized the situation aptly. "With the successful completion of democratic elections," he says, "it is fair to ask . . . what more the transitional government can do to prove its adherence to the preconditions set forth. What is instead needed most is a demonstration of statesmanship by the Administration. . . . to examine the available evidence of compliance in proper detachment, to stand in fair judgment of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, and not arbitrarily to demand additional proof of compliance. It would be especially tragic if the United States were to give less than full support to a fledgling constitutional democracy, on a continent where individual national governments are predominantly autocratic. . . ." It would, indeed. □

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UNRECORDED TRAGEDY AT DEDHAM

Murder Strikes Home

FRANCIS RUSSELL

AFTER A MORNING at my desk I like to turn on the radio to the midday newscast while I am having lunch, for five minutes of national and international affairs. The local news that follows is scarcely worth listening to. "Westwood realtor and his wife found murdered," said the local announcer on this particular October morning before I could switch him off. One more of those incidents, grim banalities like car smash-ups. But Westwood? That was where my cousin Anne Bradley and her husband, John, lived. And he had a real-estate business. Of course it couldn't be. But I turned on the set again. The voice droned, stage-solemn, "John Bradley and his wife were found murdered late yesterday in their Westwood home. Police are holding their 24-year-old son John Bradley Jr."

Anne, my dearest cousin in a not too intimate family; John, three classes below me at the Roxbury Latin School; murdered? This was the sort of thing that happened to other people, that one skimmed in the fugitive headlines. I ran out into the trance-like autumn sunshine and drove up and down the streets of our Cape Cod village looking for my wife, Sari, not knowing why or where. Two days later, with John and Anne's two older sons, I attended the double funeral in the church where I was married, my daughter baptized, and from which my mother was buried.

That was five years ago. Why did it happen? I still keep asking myself as I fumble for an answer.

Anne had wanted to be an actress. After graduating from Smith she eked out a living in New York as a salesgirl days, and worked evenings in the chorus of a nightclub while haunting the offices of theatrical agents in her free time. She had will, perseverance, courage, everything but talent. That she lacked. When she finally realized it, she came back to her Boston suburb and married John. That was in 1943. A few months later he was drafted into the army and sent off to India, where he spent the remaining war years in Simla as a private. Six months after he arrived in Simla his son Philip was born, named after John's dead brother.

John Bradley had gone to Yale, carefree, with no particular thoughts of a future career, more interested in golf than in his studies. After the war he and Anne bought a ramshackle eighteenth century house in Westwood on a GI loan and made over the dining room into a real-estate office. Selling houses made John a living, but only just, for the big agents in neighboring Dedham absorbed most of the town business. Yet he had a talent lacking in most. He knew how to fit a customer to a house. Never did he show a prospective buyer something that he would not like. Most real-estate agents belong to the show-'em-anything school. John knew how to discriminate.

After the war John and Anne had two more sons, the last, Johnny, born in 1949 and named after his father. All three were strenuously athletic, starring in football, hockey, and baseball. When they grew older they went to Thayer Academy 15 miles away in Braintree. John used to drive them in the morning and fetch them back in the afternoon, a sixty-mile-a-day, year-in-year-out routine. Often in winter he would have to get up at half past four to get them to early-morning hockey practice. From Thayer they went to Bowdoin, athletes all, though Johnny was the best, an all-American hockey player.

Anne had a job as librarian of the Westwood High School. Indeed it took two salaries to send the boys to private school and college, even though John's business had increased.

A Shadowy Figure

I was never able to unravel what happened during Johnny's years at Bowdoin, until he finally dropped out in his junior year. Like so many other undergraduates, he was absorbed into the Vietnam antiwar movement; and like so many others, he let his hair grow shoulder-length and sprouted a scraggly beard that scarcely masked his boy's face. When he skated out on the hockey rink with the Bowdoin team he wore a peace emblem on his jersey. Then he quit hockey altogether, to the coach's dismay and anger. He had started to major in history, but after he gave up hockey he switched to art. As a child he had spent hours modeling figurines and little animals out of clay. Now he resumed sculpting. He and a dozen others were given permission to run their own counter-college with their own curriculum on a farm belonging to Bowdoin some miles from the campus. They chipped abstract sculptures out of flawed blocks of marble they got from some local quarry. Marijuana, amphetamines, and LSD were part of their life-pattern. Whether they used other drugs, I do not know. After one of them was caught with a hundred thousand dollars' worth of LSD in Portland, the counter-college disintegrated. Johnny dropped out.

What I learned about Johnny after he left Bowdoin is only fragmentary. Returning to Westwood, he withdrew more and more from life and from people, spending most of his days in his room or in front of the living-room television. When I drove up the driveway I would sometimes catch a glimpse of a shadowy figure hurrying upstairs. His parents tried to protect him. I did not find out until the following year that he had left Bowdoin or that he had spent some months confined in the Massachusetts Mental Health Center (once known with more crude exactness as the Psychopathic Hospital). Nor did I know he had been in trouble with the police. His father tried to stir his interest—in anything. He bought him a ten-speed bicycle. Johnny would not use it. Next he bought a pool table. Johnny refused to play. Finally he fixed up a back room as a kind of studio, with a clay table, a potter's wheel, and an electric kiln. Quite useless.

One summer's day when I stopped off at Westwood, I found Johnny alone in the front room. He looked up at me with the same shy smile that I remembered from when I used to take him

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as a little boy to the zoo. "Keep me company," I said. "I've got to go to the family burial plot in Hyde Park. I'll bet you don't even know where your grandparents are buried."

"No," he said. "I don't."

I told him I had to see about the stone on our Uncle Amos' grave that the Veterans Administration had put there with his name spelled wrong. Johnny got in the car with me, and I told him about Uncle Amos, the family rakehell, who as an army lieutenant had died in the 1918 influenza epidemic. I had only a vague recollection of that martial figure in the shiny mahogany-colored boots and the chain spurs that clinked as he walked. "He seemed a demigod to me then," I told Johnny, "though I suppose he was really what Stella Benson called 'the local sexually successful bounder.' "

Johnny smiled his shy smile. "I wish I had a woman who cared for me," he said.

"Well, there are a lot of girls about," I told him. "Do you read much?"

"There's nothing worth reading."

"You ought to get out more."

"No place to go."

"Oh, come," I said, "I ride round on my bicycle. The same old places, but there's always something new."

He smiled again, the wistful smile under the absurd whiskers, but said no more.

Knife and Hammer

When we got back to Westwood, John was pacing up and down in the yard, his face taut. "Oh," he said, "I just left to get some cigarettes, and when I came back Johnny was gone. I didn't know where he might be." Without even a glance at me Johnny slipped inside. "You don't know what we've been through," John said in a quivering voice. "Psychiatrists. Doctors. The Mental Health Center. They tell me I ought to commit him, but I can't bring myself to do it. I'm always afraid he'll do something to himself. Last winter he got up one night and ran out into the snow barefoot, came back hours later, his feet all frost-bitten and bloody. He couldn't walk for two weeks. I'd do anything for him, but what can I do? He just sits up there in his room, day after day. I can't work. My business is falling apart. If Anne didn't have her high-school job I don't know how we'd live." I noticed then that he was getting shabby, his cuffs frayed, his tie wrinkled.

There came a day when John and Anne had to commit Johnny to the state mental hospital in Medfield. I don't know what his diagnosis was, but the doctor in charge used to send him out during the day to look for work. With his unkempt hair and scraggly beard, ragged jeans tied with a bit of rope, he would hitch-hike along the hospital road to one of the nearby towns, a forlorn unkempt figure that few would pick up.

One day a young man in a Mercedes gave him a lift, then stopped at a drugstore to buy a paper. While he was inside, Johnny drove off with the car and was picked up next day on the New Jersey Turnpike when he didn't have the money to pay the toll. How the hospital bureaucrats conceived the bizarre notion that anyone would hire Johnny to do anything is beyond my imagination. Perhaps it was just a way of getting rid of him for the day. Yet once he found a plumber who did offer him a job. "Just get your hair cut and shave off those whiskers and I'll start you off tomorrow as my helper," the man told him. When Johnny got back to the hospital he cried. And he never went back to the plumber.

Each time his parents visited him, Johnny begged to come home. He said he couldn't stand the meals with the others, watching them eat like animals. He couldn't stand the ward stink at night. He begged and begged to leave, said it would be different once he was home. The psychiatrist in charge agreed to let him go, and John and Anne brought him back to Westwood with them. It wasn't different. Johnny hid in his room. Two weeks later when Anne returned from the library, Johnny was waiting in the driveway with a bread-knife behind his back. As she stepped out of her Toyota, he stabbed her through the lungs and heart and left her dead in the gravel. Then he dashed indoors to where his father was watching a football game on television, seized a hammer, and smashed in John's skull. Leaving him dying on the floor, Johnny ran down the road a quarter of a mile to the Route 128 overpass and threw himself over the railing. If the highway had not been blocked off for repairs, he would have been killed by the traffic. As it was, he broke his jaw and his hip. The police found him unconscious on the empty road. Subsequently a special grand jury indicted him for murder, but he was never brought to trial, and he is now in the Bridgewater Hospital for the Criminally Insane. Since the murders, he has refused to see his brothers, although he sometimes writes his grandmother as if nothing had happened.

He's No Trouble

Last September when I happened to be driving through Bridgewater, I stopped off at that formidable brick compound that is the Hospital for the Criminally Insane. Once through the barricades, I was sent to Johnny's social worker, an amiable, uninformative young man. Together we went over Johnny's record. "I'm particularly interested in his drug record, whatever it is," I told the social worker. He spread out papers from a manila folder. "Nothing here to indicate what he might have been taking, if anything," the man said. "He's no trouble. But we can't get him to eat or take exercise."

"I suppose he'll never get out."

"If he's ever declared sane he'll have to stand trial."

"But he *was* insane!"

"That would have to be proven in court first. It hasn't been."

Somehow I thought of Shelley's line, "I saw murder on the way." What had driven the boy who called me uncle to this mad act of violence? An inherent mental instability? Had the antiwar hysteria and the counter-college at Bowdoin somehow dissolved his personality? Or, more likely, drugs? For certain individuals a single dose of LSD is enough to upset their mental balance permanently. Could it have been the harder drugs, the road down from pot and hash and speed and psychedelic daydreams to the darkness of heroin?

The social worker stood up. "Would you like to see Johnny?" he asked me finally.

"Yes," I said, "but I doubt if he will see me." He telephoned the recreation room, then turned to me apologetically. "I'm sorry," he said. "Johnny doesn't want to see you." □

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Welcome to the Club

Out of This World

MALACHI B. MARTIN

IN THE SHORT TIME since the 6 to 3 Supreme Court decision that public figures suing for libel can inquire into the thoughts of media people, many voices have been raised against the Court. "The unmaking of the Constitution," one commentator called it. "Courts are mugging the press," a headline ran. "Both publishers and editors believe," an editor wrote, "that the portion of the First Amendment that protects America's free press is slowly being eroded by an increasingly anti-press legal and judicial establishment." Another wept: "Rescue the First Amendment!"

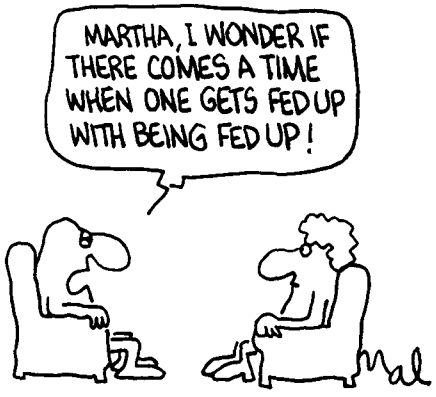
Media people are fearful now of what they call the "chilling effect" of the latest Supreme Court decision. Meanwhile, though, many a religious believer would like to tell them: "Well, ladies and gentlemen of the media, welcome to the club! There are a lot of us who would like to practice our religion freely, according to our constitutional right. And every one of us has been here before you. And every one of us can tell you, you had *better* be afraid. And every one of us can ask, where were you when the fight started? It is very late in the game to holler foul, because the rules have already been changed. Or didn't you know?"

Truth to tell, if the First Amendment is in jeopardy, it has been so for some time, and with nary a cry from the media until their own perceived interests were clearly involved. A corrosive acid has been eating away at the Bill of Rights, starting at the top and seeping in unpredictable ways and in all directions, rotting the very foundations on which all our rights and protections and laws are based. That the acid has only lately reached the rights of the media means, for one thing, that the media had a grace period to cry a warning long before now, and failed to do so.

Harvard Law Professor Laurence H. Tribe was recently quoted as saying: "The Supreme Court doesn't read the political winds on a day-to-day basis; but it inescapably responds to shifts in underlying national attitudes." If that is true, then the Court has clearly convinced itself (and it has not been dissuaded by the media) that the Founding Fathers didn't really mean it when they stated that "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle" a people to their rights, and that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." It seems clear enough that, far from intending to protect the state against religion—as the Court, our legislatures, and many media people now understand that clause to mean—the Founding Fathers intended not only to protect religion from the state, but to say that no other right they intended to ensure could be safeguarded without the moral basis that does not exist apart from religion.

BUT THE COURT and our legislatures have brought us to the point where, in virtually all areas of life today, the only argument not tolerated is the religiously based moral argument. I am referring not merely to major questions such as abortion, homosexuality, the age of sexual consent, and pornography, but to children's public choir singing, prayer in schools, public crèches, etc. And we have learned to accept the amoral double standard: TV pays lawyers to argue successfully in court that programs replete with violence and amorality cannot be demonstrated to influence anybody, at the same time that their ad representatives argue that television is so persuasive a medium as to be worth the fortunes spent on commercials.

We have, in brief, very nearly outlawed all sense of religious morality in public and political life. We are making great strides toward discouraging it in private life. We cannot see our ills as being those of the spirit, because we are no longer allowed to talk of spirit and of religiously based morality or of the shoulds and shouldn'ts of religion and "the free exercise thereof."



Having achieved great success in removing religiously based morality from our laws and public life, the Court and legislatures are hard put to find workable replacements. "These things have always been with us" is a useful argument for legalizing prostitution and abortion, making homosexual preference a civil right, and protecting pornography. "So many people do it, it must be okay"—a sort of variation on the fifty-million-Frenchmen argument—is another argument that has proved persuasive for legalizing just about anything that George Gallup ever counted or Masters and Johnson ever watched.

The media, like organized religion, are frequently charged with bringing many of their ills upon themselves by not accepting their responsibilities to the degree which would merit the trust and protection given in the Bill of Rights. But, curiously enough, such charges can be made only on the basis of the moral reality that is being discarded from our lives and our land, and without which anything goes.

If the constitutional liberty of a free press is genuinely threatened, if the very meaning of this country is threatened, we can remind ourselves that the threat did not begin in April of 1979, and did not begin with the Supreme Court decision in the case of Lieutenant Colonel Herbert. It began with everybody's willingness, passive or active, to excise from our laws and lives the only Law cited by our Founders as the basis and justification of the Union itself. And we can remind ourselves, our judges, our legislatures, and our media people that, as far as national attitude goes, of the 223 million people in this country, over 190 million are avowed believers *and* Americans. And as far as the Constitution goes, they each have a right to be both at the same time. And they have a right not to be disenfranchised or neglected as either. □

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Textbooks & Freedom

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

OF THE MANY lamentations which echo from my wailing wall in the backwoods of Michigan, two cries are most frequently heard. How can I find out whether my children's textbooks are good or bad? And, How do I get information about what's happening to independent schools? Below I touch upon both subjects.

School and college textbooks stand in need of sensible criticism. Some textbooks are reviewed in "professional" journals of the academy or in teachers' magazines, but not many such manuals are reviewed even there; and of course the general public does not ordinarily encounter those publications. But there are sources from which judgments about textbooks can be obtained.

America's Future, Inc., an organization nearly four decades old, has a Textbook Evaluation Committee which has prepared hundreds of reviews of textbooks, chiefly those used in secondary schools. the program is kept up to date by arranging for review of new editions. History, civics, current problems, economics, literature, and other disciplines are included in this program. A list of all such reports is available free of charge, as are all of the evaluation reports.

The Good News

America's Future also publishes "special reports" at greater length, surveying a field generally. There is available free of charge, for instance, a pamphlet entitled "Humane Literature in High Schools" (Index No. 665), by a certain Dr. Russell Kirk; and America's Future is now setting in type other pamphlets by the same scribbler—one dealing with books for small children, a second with books for young readers, a third with reading for junior-high pupils. Those particularly interested in the subject of high-school textbooks in literature may wish to order also two pamphlets from the same typewriter which describe the failings of a representative "literature and language arts" series; these are Evaluation Index Nos. 555 and 575, and are entitled "Macmillan Gateway English."

America's Future, Inc. has other activities. It publishes a fortnightly bulletin, broadcasts over radio, and is especially concerned with foreign affairs. Write to America's Future, Inc., 542 Main Street, New Rochelle, New York 10802.

How about lengthier studies? Yes, there is a reliable organization which wages the good fight in that realm: The Ethics and Public Policy Center, Georgetown University, 1211 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036. This Center publishes monographs and reprints on a wide range of subjects; two of its principal publications have been *Morality and Foreign Policy: Symposium on President Carter's Stance* and *Decline of the West? George Kennan and His Critics.* The textbook-reviewing program is of recent origin, but promises to make impressive headway in future years.

At this writing, two little books are available from the Center; they cost $3 each; more will be published soon. These two monographs are *Values in an American Government Textbook* and *How the Cold War Is Taught: Six American History Textbooks Examined.* The former of these has three authors—Michael Novak, Jeane Kirkpatrick, and Anne Crutcher, writing independently; they dissect an all-too-representative secondary textbook. The latter monograph, written by Martin F. Herz, judiciously analyzes the content of a half-dozen textbooks in history. One hopes that it will become difficult for publishers to ignore such sober and substantial criticisms from such intelligent critics.

As many readers of this page are aware, some college textbooks are reviewed from time to time in the small quarterly edited by your servant, *The University Bookman.* In a slim quarterly, however, it is not possible to monitor regularly or entirely the vast, lucrative field of college-textbook publishing.

Now for information about the plight and prospects of independent schools. Although church-related and private schools have been increasing in number recently (despite the decline in the number of Catholic schools over the past two decades), inflation and government—federal, state, and local—have been striking independent education sore blows. The Internal Revenue Service demands that such schools prove they are not racially discriminatory; the National Labor Relations Board endeavors to force church-related schools to submit to unionization of their teachers; the Department of Justice and other federal agencies insist upon "affirmative action"; state departments of public instruction try to force "private" competition out of existence by excessive regulation. What to do?

Books for Children

Well, there exist centers from which friendly news may be obtained. One of these is the Center for Independent Education (1177 University Drive, Menlo Park, California 94025), which publishes a newsletter entitled *Inform*—available on request, I believe. This Center is related to the Institute for Humane Studies, a foundation which supports competition and free enterprise, among other principles.

Also, I commend the Educational Freedom Foundation (20 Parkland, Glendale, St. Louis, Missouri 63122). Dr. Daniel D. McGarry has resumed the direction of this sound undertaking, which lay dormant for a time. The Foundation stands for educational freedom, parental rights, and religious liberty; it publishes a bulletin, *Educational Freedom*, which may be obtained for $3 a year. Having no endowment, the Foundation is grateful for contributions to its funds.

Beside my wailing wall, comrades, I raise my typewriter on high and shout in the fell clutch of circumstance, "Say not the struggle naught availeth!" □

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Desperately Fair

Defending My Enemy
By Aryeh Neier
Dutton, 182 pp., $9.95

M. J. SOBRAN

Aryeh Neier was Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union from his 33rd to his 41st year. He postponed his precocious retirement by a year in order to handle one of the most publicized and heated cases in the ACLU's stormy history: the so-called Skokie case.

For Neier the ironies abound. He was born of Jewish parents in Berlin in 1937; his immediate family escaped just in time to avoid what happened to most of their relatives. Many Jews have accused him of disloyalty for his effort on behalf of Nazis here.

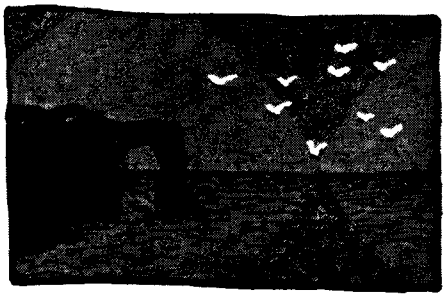
Neier is a thick-skinned man who sticks doggedly to his principles, but the criticism he has received bothered him enough to make him write this personal review of the Skokie case. Yet his tone is oddly flat and laconic, the autobiography consisting of a summary of the salient facts of his childhood, a rootless refugee existence. He seldom gives a hint of feeling. He is really explaining his principles, and, like the methodical lawyer he is, he sees no point in indulging or displaying sentiment.

Jews will therefore find the book disappointing as an affirmation of solidarity with the Jewish community. Neier sees Skokie as a microcosm of Israel, trying vainly to exclude "threatening ideas." Jews, he argues, have a special stake in civil liberties. They will never have much power; they must therefore be free to appeal to "the world's sense of justice." (Even though he thinks "the world" is largely antisemitic.) "To defend myself, I must restrain power with freedom, even if the temporary beneficiaries are the enemies of freedom. . . . The Nazis, I respond to those who ask how I, a Jew, can defend freedom for Nazis, must be free to speak because Jews must be free to speak and because I must be free to speak." He means it. He was defending George Lincoln Rockwell's generation of Nazis long before Skokie made national headlines. He is a brave and dedicated man.

But what is the nature of his dedication? Are civil liberties valuable only pragmatically, as a technical convenience for Jews, an escape hatch from "the world's" power? Clearly, civil liberties (however defined) must have an intrinsic moral value, apart from their advantages to this or that group. Any particularistic defense of them is wrongheaded. Neier senses this, and later in his book he tries to support absolute free speech with a real theory.

He gives an incisive review of the free-speech controversy and of the arguments the Skokie case stimulated. To the arguments of his critics, including George Will and Ernest van den Haag, he is scrupulously fair. Still, he can't bear to allow any limits on speech, and his own reply is somewhat desperate.

As Neier sees it, a government's legitimacy depends on consent; and consent must be entirely free in order to legitimate. He cites Milton's and Jefferson's expressions of faith in the ability of the people to discriminate between truth and error. But such a faith sits more oddly on Neier himself, who shuns terms like truth and error. And what if a government that represses certain minorities is itself an expression of consent? Haven't the people the right to limit their own range of options? It is odd to say that the people have a right to elect a repressive government, but that repressive governments have no right to rule. Democracy presents a problem for Neier's theory, since it can be hard to tell where the people end and government begins. Yet his theory idealizes democracy.



I suppose he would say that the popular will ceases being authoritative as soon as it quashes minority opinion. "Government can not claim to enjoy the consent of the governed if it places restraints on what they say." Why not, if they consent to those restraints? "Only a society that permits people to speak can justly impose on them the decisions of the majority." To put it rudely, who says? If those decisions are just, they may justly be imposed. "The rule of the majority has no claim on the loyalty of the minority unless the minority has its chance to influence others and, thereby, to become the majority." In the case of a minority that is disloyal anyway, this hardly matters. Are the Nazis going to become loyal advocates of civil liberties because their own liberties are protected? "How can we know if the minority has truth and virtue on its side unless its views are permitted to grapple with others in a free and open encounter?" Because we

Jeffrey Hart *is the author of a forthcoming book,* Hemingway and Fitzgerald: How to Read Them . . . **Murray Kempton** *is, among other things, a columnist for the* New York Post.

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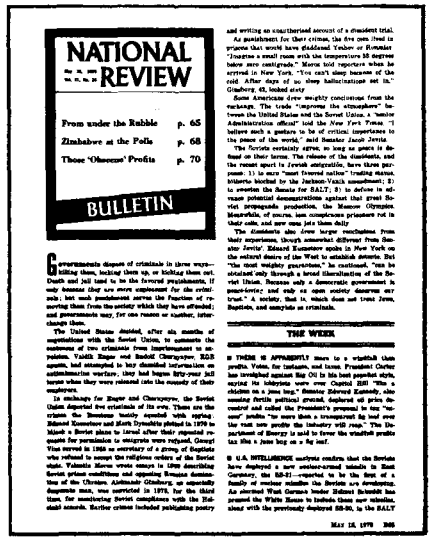
This is no time to be without the BULLETIN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BULLETIN

THE WEEK

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hold these truths to be self-evident.

Neier concludes that the ACLU and the courts ultimately "defeated the Nazis by preserving the legitimacy of American democracy." Apparently he thinks American law would have no claim on anyone's loyalty had the Nazis been denied their permit. This is too doctrinaire to bother with.

We must be careful—more careful than Neier—how we talk about "rights." Do Nazis have rights? Of course. So do murderers. But those rights don't include the right to murder, or to use the political process to incite murder, or to use the right "peaceably to assemble" to demand and threaten murder. It has nothing to do with the Nazis' being a "minority"; it has everything to do with *what they say*. Yes, Nazis have the same rights Jews have. And the day Jews want to hold marches to call for mass-murder, the powers that be will be perfectly justified in saying, Sorry, no permit. But until that day comes, I see no point in warning Jews that their safety stands or falls with the safety of their persecutors.

What Neier is afraid to face is this: consent can have no value irrespective of what is being consented to. He didn't get his doctrine (despite the Jeffersonian echoes) from the Declaration of Independence, which specifies that the purpose of government is to secure human rights—and that consent has to do only with whether a particular government is doing the job. There is no hint of a "right" to consent to anything destructive of those rights. And under any coherent theory of consent, avowed enemies of human rights can have no claim to participate in the consensus-seeking process of public discussion. □

SWELL LETTERS

The Price Was High: The Last Uncollected Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald
Edited by Matthew J. Bruccoli
Harcourt, Brace, 785 pp., $19.95

TOUGH PROFESSIONAL

JEFFREY HART

The received version of Scott Fitzgerald's career needs to be drastically revised, and *The Price Was High*, containing virtually all of Fitzgerald's hitherto uncollected stories, should help a great deal. "We poets in our youth begin in gladness," wrote Wordsworth, "but thereof come in the end despondency and madness." When serious critical and biographical attention began to be paid to Fitzgerald during the late 1940s, that pattern of Romantic failure was imposed upon his career. Thus Fitzgerald, according to Cyril Connolly, was "an American version of the Dying God, an Adonis of letters, born with the century, flowering in the Twenties, . . . quietly wilting through the Thirties, to expire—as a deity of spring and summer should—on December 21, 1940, at the winter solstice and the end of an epoch." And Fitzgerald is widely believed to have crashed with the Market, spent the Thirties drunk, and revived only briefly to lament his fate and begin *The Last Tycoon*.

Fitzgerald himself is partly responsible for this entirely mistaken view. From Anthony Patch of *The Beautiful and the Damned*, through Jay Gatsby, Dick Diver, Charlie Wales, Pat Hobby, and a host of other Fitzgerald characters, failure represented a central theme of his fiction. In a characteristic remark, Fitzgerald observed that Ernest Hemingway spoke with the "authority of success," he, for his part, with the "authority of failure." His 1936 essays, especially "The Crack-Up," contributed to the impression that Fitzgerald was a burnt-out case; this impression was reinforced by Budd Schulberg's novel *The Disenchanted* (1950), with its portrait of Fitzgerald/Manley Halliday as a broken-down drunk, and also Arthur Mizener's pioneering critical biography, *The Far Side of Paradise* (1949).

The reality was quite different. Fitzgerald prevailed over adversity, produced first-rate work throughout the Thirties, and made a fortune in Hollywood. It was Hemingway, by far the weaker man, who disintegrated both as a person and as an artist and finally committed suicide.

FITZGERALD'S worst period followed the publication of *Tender Is the Night* in 1934 and lasted into the early months of 1937, after which he went to Hollywood. During that period, Fitzgerald drank heavily and may have attempted suicide. In his immensely useful *After the Good Gay Times* (1974), Tony Buttitta provides a good account of Fitzgerald at his nadir, during the summer of 1935, in Asheville, North Carolina.

First of all, however, and contrary to widespread belief, *Tender Is the Night* was not a commercial failure, and it received excellent reviews. It sold 13,000 copies and stayed on the best-seller list for weeks. Second, consider those two "bad" years, 1935 and 1936. During 1935, Fitzgerald published nine stories plus the collection of earlier stories, *Taps at Reveille*. During 1936, he published 11 stories and three important autobiographical essays. The stories include such first-rate work, until recently buried in old periodicals, as "An Author's Mother" (*Esquire*), "Image on the Heart" (*McCall's*), and "Inside the House" (*Post*). In other words, even during his two "bad" years, Fitzgerald's productivity would make most authors envious.

During his lifetime, Fitzgerald published 164 stories, and his productivity did not decline during his final decade: between 1934 and 1940 he published

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RANDOM NOTES

■ More June Titles: Martin Green argues in *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (Basic Books, $15) that the works of Scott, DeFoe, Twain, Cooper, Kipling, and Conrad were a major source of inspiration for the British and American imperialist politicians who sought rapaciously to extend the influence of their respective nations over the world. . . . Peter Stansky, the British historian, has written a biography called *Gladstone: A Progress in Politics* (Little, Brown, $9.95) in which he concludes that Disraeli was wrong in finding his great opponent a dangerous hypocrite. . . . In *Freud and the Problem of God* (Yale, $8.95), Hans Küng treats the psychoanalyst's militant atheism as merely "a dogmatic claim." . . . In *Rickenbacker's Luck: An American Life* (Houghton Mifflin, $12.95), Finis Farr pursues the story of Eddie Rickenbacker from child to ace to chairman of Eastern Airlines.

Patrick Carr and the editors of *Country Music Magazine* have put together *The Illustrated History of Country Music* (Doubleday, $14.95). . . . To descend a level or two, Joshua C. Taylor's book, *The Fine Arts in America* (Chicago University Press, $15), treats of their development from the seventeenth century to the present. Taylor is head of the Smithsonian Institution's National Collection of Fine Arts; his book is preceded by an obliging introduction written for it by Professor Daniel Boorstin, head of the Library of Congress and a noted historian. . . . Robert Darnton's *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the* Encyclopédie, *1775-1800* (Harvard, $20) is a fascinating volume about the development of M. Diderot's famous project.

■ On the Left: The current leading light of the anti-nuclear innerleckshuls is probably Barry Commoner, whose book *The Politics of Energy* (Knopf, $10) was recently excerpted in *The New Yorker*. . . . Charles Morgan Jr., the civil libertarian lawyer who has defended people like Julian Bond and Muhammad Ali and in 1972 became head of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union, has written his autobiography, *One Man, One Voice* (Holt, Rinehart, $12.95). By no means an uninteresting volume, by an interesting man.

sixty stories, six poems, and ten essays, and wrote what we have of *The Last Tycoon*. For many of these stories, even in those bleak Depression years, Fitzgerald was paid $3,000 or $4,000, the equivalent of perhaps $25,000 today.

The impression also remains that in Hollywood Fitzgerald was a broken-down hack. This derives in part from Schulberg's novel, and perhaps also from the stories about Pat Hobby, the down-and-out screenwriter—a clown figure who surely derives from Chaplin's tramp rather than from Fitzgerald himself. Fitzgerald a failure in Hollywood? Let us examine his "failure."

As Tom Dardis has shown in *Some Time in the Sun*, Fitzgerald ranked near the top of the screen-writers' pay scale. At MGM he earned $1,000 per week for the last six months of 1937 and was raised to $1,250 per week for 1938, receiving $68,000 that year for 45 weeks on the job. Only 18 of the 228 writers surveyed by Dardis were paid more. Sheilah Graham regarded his salary as an absolute "fortune." Fitzgerald rented a cottage at the Garden of Allah on Sunset Boulevard, a lavish place originally built for the star Alla Nazimova, and which featured a swimming pool shaped like the Black Sea, in honor of her birthplace. In Hollywood, William Faulkner was glad to be paid $300 per week by Warner Brothers; Nathanael West earned $350 per week at Republic.

Fitzgerald was beset by debts and bills from his daughter Scotty at Vassar and from Zelda's doctors, but his earning capacity was high. He was assigned to a series of major films—*A Yank at Oxford*, *Infidelity*, *Three Comrades*, *The Women*, *Madame Curie*—and his attitude toward them was serious and professional. Fitzgerald's particular literary gifts did not ultimately prove transferable to the screen, but he was scarcely a failure in Hollywood.

In the fall of 1939, *Collier's* was willing to pay him $15,000 for the serial rights to the projected *Last Tycoon*, but Fitzgerald insisted on $30,000 and the deal fell through.

All of this bears no resemblance to the ruined and shattered figure who emerges from the pages of Schulberg and Mizener. Fitzgerald did get very drunk on several occasions during this period—most spectacularly during ten days in February 1939, when he visited Dartmouth to work on the film *Winter Carnival*; but he was sober, "bitterly" sober, he said, for months on end, an assertion borne out by his productivity. People closely acquainted with Fitzgerald during this period do not share Schulberg's opinion that Fitzgerald gave the impression of "shaken old age." Anthony Powell had lunch with him on July 20, 1937, shortly after his arrival on the Coast. Powell found him to have "an odd sort of unassuming dignity. . . . His air could be thought a trifle sad, but not in the least broken down, as he had sometimes been described at this period."

Fitzgerald was in fact tough and professional to the end, writing, and writing well, even after the first heart attack. On December 13, 1940, eight days before his death, he wrote to Zelda about the progress of *The Last Tycoon*:

> The novel is about three-quarters through and I think I can go on till January 12 without doing any stories or going back to the studio. I couldn't go back to the studio anyhow in my present condition as I have to spend most of the time in bed where I write on a wooden desk that I had made a year and a half ago. The cardiogram shows that my heart is repairing itself but it will be a gradual process that will take some months. It is odd that the heart is one of the organs that does repair itself.

Fitzgerald did not disintegrate, and he did not fail as an artist; he simply had a fatal heart attack. Oddly enough, however, at about the time of Fitzgerald's death, psychological and artistic distintegration had begun to overtake the most glamorous and most apparently successful writer in the world, Ernest Hemingway; but that is another story. □

Chamber Music
By Doris Grumbach
Dutton, 213 pp., $8.95

ONE EASY PIECE

DAVID EVANIER

Miss Grumbach—who has a deserved reputation for incisive reviewing and for (sometimes indiscriminately) ferreting out unrecognized writers published by the small presses—takes a dab at fiction here. (She has published two previous novels.) Because *Chamber Music* is in the form of memoirs written by the ninety-year-old widow of an

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American composer, presumably one is expected to excuse such lapses as purple prose, skeletal dialogue, extended summarization instead of immediacy, and shallow characterization. Nuance, surprise, depth are not part of this game.

We *are* allowed, however, to examine what the book is about, and to judge it on that basis. *Chamber Music* is about Woman Abused by an egotistical male artist (apparently the nineteenth century composer Edward MacDowell) who has time only for his music. On top of this, the composer has syphilis contracted through homosexuality (which, I gather, to this mind-set, is bad when men do it). Caroline Maclaren finds happiness only when her husband Robert dies after a period spent as a (literally) drooling idiot whose only pleasure is reading *Mother Goose*. ("Pints of saliva poured over his bottom lip. . . . Robert had drooled upon the book he so loved.") She begins to "feel something" for Anna Baehr, the young nurse with the "lissome, fine-boned, full-fleshed body hidden under the heavy dress and apron":

> I realized it was pleasure at the closeness, the sun-warmed heat of Anna's soft skin, her arm against mine as we knelt together, the joy at being, for the first time in so long, adjacent to a glowing life.

There is no line drawn here between feminism and lesbianism. They conjoin —it's the same "liberation." The novel is a wooden tract, about as surprising as a Soviet poster depicting workers joyfully stoking a furnace.

This is not to say that *Chamber Music* is entirely graceless. Miss Grumbach can write. The condition of syphilis is piercingly described:

> . . . he thrust his fingers into his mouth and pulled out a rancid, ropy mass of thick, oily, copper-colored saliva. It clung to his fingers, he could not shake it off, he groaned helplessly.

There is a wonderfully powerful scene of struggle between the composer and an epileptic student:

> The boy had jumped toward Robert from his crouched position on the window seat, like a small spring released into the air. Before I could stop him he had crossed the room, stooped down, opened his mouth, and dug his teeth into the flesh of Robert's upper arm. . . . Paul Brewster appeared for a few seconds to hang by his teeth from Robert's raised arm, the cloth of Robert's shirt bunched into his mouth. . . . he let go when Robert's blood filled his mouth. He coughed, gagged, turned his head away, and vomited into the cave of the piano. . . .

But what is at the heart of the book is a paean to Sapphic love:

> . . . the accustomed, loving easiness between us, the way we moved together at the start of sleep to lie close, often in each other's arms, the sense of creature warmth and security we kindled between our two bodies as we touched, the wonderful way . . .

And so on, and so on.

In sum, then, what you see is what you get: a stilted, outmoded format for the telling, and a thesis in the guise of a novel—a thesis, indeed, that is not exactly new or unfamiliar. *Chamber Music* could have been written, and privately (or publicly) published with elegant trappings, thirty or forty years ago. Yet the widow-narrator thinks she is being bold; and so, I'm afraid, does Miss Grumbach.

What *is* surprising is the relative success of *Chamber Music*, which must be attributed partly to its fashionable politics. Many fine novels this year have not achieved anywhere near its visibility and impact. The fact is that the politics of the day reinforces the tendency of this kind of writer to simplify, to avoid self-scrutiny, to find panaceas—to take the easy way out. □

The Realists
By C. P. Snow
Scribner's, 336 pp., $12.95

COMMON SENSE

MITCHELL S. ROSS

Lord Snow has served up an elegant gallery of portraits, including as his subjects many of the greatest literary artists of the nineteenth century. Everyone knows about seven of his eight realists: Stendhal, Balzac, Dickens, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, Henry James, and Proust. The eighth writer, the nineteenth century Spanish novelist Benito Peréz Galdós, comes as a surprise. I was completely unfamiliar with Galdós before Snow told me about him, but it is a measure of my admiration for Snow's book that I am prepared to admit his appropriateness in this company until my own reading prompts me to do otherwise.

Anyone who has ever attempted to write biographical essays can appreciate Snow's mastery of a difficult form. He manages to supply the pertinent details of his subjects' lives, to introduce and comment intelligently on their works, and to keep his narrative flowing steadily. There is more actual insight into the character of Dostoyevsky, for example, than in the entire first volume of Professor Joseph Frank's vast tome on the same subject, published a couple of years ago. I do not intend, in saying this, to insult the laborious fact-finders who devote their days to digging among musty archives. Of course they have their place, and the Snows of the world would be lost without them. But there is no substitute for the distilled reflections of a wise man, which is what we have here.

He comments on the nature of Stendhal's worldly ambition: "This was really prosaic ambition, the commonplace climbing of a middle-rank official." He moves on to discuss Stendhal's preoccupation with the arts of love, and finds himself offering a provocative generalization concerning life outside Stendhal's novels: "As a result of our concentration on sex, we have ceased to be able to talk about the emotions of love as Stendhal did. Emotionally we have become much more inhibited than he was—as we are, incidentally, about grief and death. Would his language now embarrass the young? Probably the genuinely clever would still be moved by the depth of his feeling and the acuteness of his mind."

It is this consistent projection of Snow's own mind that gives his book its sustained interest. He is without violent prejudices, and the generalizations he reaches do not permit us to fit the great realists neatly into a catalogue; indeed, the only notable thing he found they had in common was their being "nearly all very short, fat men, uncommonly bad at mathematics (exceptions —as to height, Galdós; as to mathematics, Stendhal)."

Snow is particularly good at discuss-

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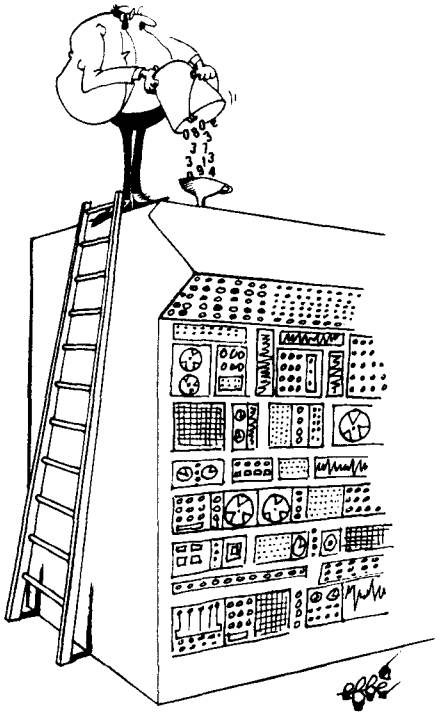
ing the sex lives of his subjects, and the relation (often slight) of their sex lives to their works. Galdós was in this respect the most peculiar of all, proceeding with strict regularity each afternoon to visit the prostitutes of Madrid, returning to live decorously with his sisters, and maintaining a record for literary fecundity that not even Balzac could improve upon. The great Frenchman's passion for Eve Hanska is treated in its turn with customary deftness: "He thought that in essence she was a pure and innocent soul. That seems strange, but we ought to trust his intuition. He knew her, and we don't."

He makes room for idiosyncrasy and inexplicability in the character of genius. In mentioning Edmund Wilson's theory of the childhood wound which emotionally crippled Dickens for life he argues, "Edmund Wilson was right, but not so right in making that somber resentment obscure so much else in a personality highly charged beyond any kind of human norm, just as the genius was." Similarly, he dismisses the theorists who would summarize the magnificence of Dostoyevsky as merely epileptic inspiration: "Suspicious, nerve ends super-sensitive, restless—other epileptics show parts of the same syndrome, and there have been attempts to suggest that the condition was at the root of his psychological gifts. Brutal sense has to reply that there have been a good many epileptics, and only this one who was a psychological genius."



In short, Snow's book is an exercise in common sense, which is rare enough at any time but especially rare in the study of great men. Add to this a dash of wit, and a sound instinct for narrative, and you have a volume of literary companionship that will retain its freshness on the shelf for a long while. □

ART

Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur
By Ernest Samuels
Harvard University Press, 475 pp., $15

ALL IN THE FAMILY

RUTH BERENSON

Bernard Berenson was many things: a Lithuanian-born Jew who grew up in a near-slum of Boston to become an aesthete, and who nearly succeeded in making a work of art out of his own life; a connoisseur of Italian Renaissance painting who did much to perfect the uncertain skill of attribution, and whose lists of who painted and drew what are still basic tools for scholars in this field; a taste-maker who guided American millionaires to the masterpieces which have made our museums the envy of Europe; a middleman who combed the byways of Italy, France, Germany, and England to authenticate the pictures these millionaires bought, making a tidy personal fortune in the process; an art collector of wide-ranging sensibility who bequeathed his villa in Florence, I Tatti, as well as his pictures and enormous art library, to Harvard; a writer whose ideas on the nature of beauty and on art appreciation have dated, but whose luminous old-age musings have enchanted all kinds of readers ever since they were published in the 1950s. Anticlimactically, he was also a relative of this reviewer.

A listing of Berenson's friends and acquaintances would include most of the Beautiful People of his day (he died in 1959, at the age of 94), from Bertrand Russell (at one time his brother-in-law) and Oscar Wilde to Henry Adams (Berenson was one of the few Jews that notorious antisemite could stomach), Benedetto Croce, Leo and Gertrude Stein, Edith Wharton, Israel Zangwill, Harry Truman. Many of them contributed to the Berenson legend. After the war he became so much of an institution that not to have at least been invited to tea at I Tatti stamped you as a Europe-on-$5-a-day tourist.

Thus an awful lot of nonsense has been written about him, some of it scurrilous, some of it impossibly laudatory, much of it simply untrue. Now Ernest Samuels, who deservedly won a Pulitzer for his 1964 biography of Henry Adams and who met BB (as everyone called him) while researching that magisterial work, has been given access to his papers and has sifted truth from falsehood, producing a beautifully written, objective account, which, though it ends in 1905 when its subject was barely forty, seems definitive. Though it is hard for me to be wholly objective about someone who loomed so large in my childhood, Mr. Samuels' portrait of him seems to me wholly recognizable.

MR. SAMUELS makes it clear that Berenson's was a complex personality. If many of his contemporaries accused him of being an effete snob and a social climber, they were, if nothing else, guilty of over-simplification. Surely it was not easy to grow up a Jew in cold-roast nineteenth century Boston (he was ten when his family immigrated in 1875); and his father, an eccentric intellectual who put his trust in Voltaire instead of the Talmud, did not find the streets of Lincoln and Concord, where he peddled dry goods, paved with gold.

Nonetheless, when BB was still a Harvard student (and editor of the *Monthly*), his brilliance was immediately recognized, and prominent Bostonians, led by Isabella Stewart Gardner (she, more than anyone else, could take credit for his success), financed his trip abroad to study ancient languages after he graduated. If his letters to her, then and later, are marked by the fawning, slightly erotic flattery of those Disraeli wrote to Queen Victoria, they are perhaps no more demeaning than the intellectual gyrations today's ambitious young go through in trying to attract the foundations whose largesse

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has replaced the private charity of those simpler times; and though "Mrs. Jack" became disgusted when BB's *Wanderjahre* stretched to five years and more without producing the novel on which she had set her hopes, later she had to admit that his time in Europe's museums had paid off: the extraordinary pictures he bought for her, now in Boston's Fenway Court, are ample proof.

Berenson was equally lucky in his meeting (in 1980) with Mary Costelloe, a Philadelphia Quaker, daughter of the pioneer Women's Libber, Hannah Smith. Married to an English Catholic and the mother of two daughters, Mary was a combination bluestocking and Free Soul who, outraging even her radical mother, abandoned all for love to become BB's disciple and, before long, his close collaborator; apparently she wrote as much of his first book, *The Venetian Painters of the Renaissance*, as he did.

As the years passed, Mary, Junoesque to begin with, grew enormously fat; whereas BB, even when I knew him as an old man, was slight, almost dainty in appearance. They made a strange couple. They fought constantly over her lovers and her periodic trips to England to see her children; finally, ten years later, after the death of her husband, they married, mostly for convenience and because they thought, unrealistically, that life together in palatial I Tatti would be cheaper than two separate establishments. Both before and after their marriage, Mary devoted her considerable talents to him. Though, as Mr. Samuels makes clear, her knowledge of art and her discrimination fully matched his, she seems not to have minded that he took the credit.

Berenson's expertise was based on the theory, originated by Giovanni Morelli in the 1880s, that painting is like handwriting in that the artist betrays his individuality by the way he paints such apparently unimportant details as ears, fingers, toes, drapery folds. When theorizing about the whys of Italian painting, the reasons for its universally recognized greatness, Berenson was very much a child of his time, weaned on Ruskin and Walter Pater and, like so many of his century, prone to reduce all phenomena to one single causative factor. The empathic theory of "tactile values" which, he believed, explained the appeal of Florentine painting from

Giotto to Michelangelo, sounds as simplistic today as the theories of Marx, Count Gobineau, or Henry George.

Still, this does not detract from his achievement in being one of the first critics to focus on the work of art itself: not its documentation, not its Zeitgeist or national character, not even its pictorial content or its author's personality, but the actual paint and the way it was applied. Though his library of books and photographs eventually rivaled, even surpassed, other art repositories of the time, Berenson relied, to the end, on one basic tool: his eyes. Every art critic since then has had to learn to do likewise. □

THOUGHTS ASTRAY

CODE DUELLO

MURRAY KEMPTON

There appears to be a marked but generally unremarked note of the autobiographical in those opinions of Supreme Court Justice Byron White that have set so many of us journalists to wailing as from the Lubyanka.

But then the memorialist frequently uncovers himself even in the dense folds of the robe. Those Supreme Court decisions that so diminished the law officer's prerogatives in the Sixties were, after all, largely the work of Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black, who had been prosecutors themselves and remembered what *they* had done.

A similar residue of heat in the embers of his auobiography may explain the zeal that Justice White brings to dismissing as effronteries so much of what journalism asserts as its immunities.

His glow as a judge may be a modest one; but he was an incandescent tailback at the University of Colorado and with the Pittsburgh Steelers. He thus bears the scars and cannot be blamed for still vividly resenting those awful Sunday afternoons when he stood in chilling locker rooms, his head ringing, his senses numbed, and his bruises bared while the writers had at him about why he had zigged when he might more politicly have zagged.

The dressing room enforces a mutuality of degradation upon the sports journalist and the beef he prods; and Justice White can be pardoned if the memories of so many offenses to his dignity impede his respect for the dignity of the calling whose members inflicted them. So long as he sits on the Court he seems likely to continue to incarnate the urge to vengeance that journalism has stoked up in athletes since the first writers saddled the first shortstop with an error and thus managed to enrage both fielder and batter by depleting each one's average at a stroke. Justice White is, then, our unappeasable antagonist, and we had best avail ourselves of the service that one's enemy alone can provide, which is the chance for self-improvement that inconvenience so often affords.

We would not be suffering these discomforts in any case if the Court had not overindulged us. The Warren Court gave journalism every reason to assume that pretty much every judicial restraint against slandering public figures was henceforth suspended when it dismissed Louis Sullivan's complaint against the

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New York Times. Sullivan was Police Commissioner of Montgomery, Alabama, and had been affronted by an advertisement in the *Times* placed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and attacking his department's treatment of Negroes in terms that, while correct in their general tenor, had lapsed in a few details into the dramatic excesses familiar in appeals for funds.

The case illustrates all the torments that seem to inhere in efforts to balance the equities in matters of libel. I remember Commissioner Sullivan as one of those oily, fair-seeming personages about whom the worst is easy to believe; but, all the same, the decision that a man has no regard for the rights of others hardly entitles us to abandon all concern for his. Still, his detractors had heartfully believed in the truth of everything they had said about him, and, if they bore him malice, he had applied considerable energy to earning it. The insoluble quandary in their quarrel was that there could not exist anywhere a forum where it could fairly be tried. Sullivan sensibly chose to lodge his suit in a Montgomery Court and was awarded $500,000 by a jury naturally inclined to treat all the advertisement's assertions as lies without bothering to distinguish between those that were provable and those that were not.

It was understandable that the Court found this result unsatisfactory in such circumstances; what has ever since been troublesome is that it chose to leap most riskily from this particular case to the general principle that free controversy is a good so absolute that the need to preserve it debarred any public figure from suing for libel unless he could prove that the offending statements had been made with the knowledge that they were false or in "reckless disregard" of whether they were true or not.

We ought not, I think, to be either surprised or discomfited that the Supreme Court is now drawing back from ground so slippery. The literal application of any such language would exempt all but the most monstrous slanderer from the restraints and divest all but the dimmest citizen from the protections of any effectual libel standard.

What, for example, is "reckless disregard" for truth? An active state of passion certainly, and thus one excluding sloth or carelessness. A Florida newspaper once printed a report that a mayoral candidate had been convicted of perjury, only to discover later that the convict was not the candidate but his brother, and the Supreme Court forgave this error because there was no evidence that its intent was malicious.

Even if it were that easy to expunge all suspicion of malice from someone who writes that someone else has a criminal record without bothering to extend him a chance to explain, we would still be left to wonder how many tort cases could lie in the civil courts if they depended upon proof of malice. The pressures of voluminous publication make small blunders so unavoidable that the *New York Times* maintains a special corner for regretting them in detail; and that is a sufficient and even handsome reparation for minor mistakes.

But errors egregious enough to do real harm to their object ought to be de-

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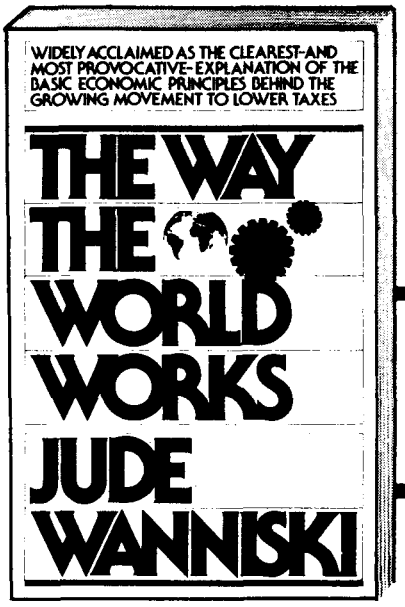
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fined as the gross negligence that is treated as actionable in every other area of the litigious.

Then too, just what do we describe when we speak of someone as a "public figure"? The Justices had no sooner recognized this category of persons who get what they deserve than the lower courts began penning into its confines nearly everyone who had ever sought and won the attention of strangers. We had to wait nearly 12 years before the Court confronted the grievance of a Florida divorcée who had been pictured by *Time* as faithless to her vows largely on the authority of that hostile source, her former husband.

TIME defended itself by citing the unlucky woman's frequent appearance in the Miami social columns as sufficient evidence of status as a public figure to burden her with the need to prove a malicious intent in any assault on her reputation. The Court took pause at last and ruled that the plaintiff was not a public figure and might therefore claim a measure of her private rights; and the herding of dimly prominent unfortunates into the pariah class has slowed measurably since.

The new life that Justice White's resentments have breathed into the law of libel seems to me, on balance, rather a welcome restoration. I ought to confess that his menace lies at a safe distance from myself, since I contemplate it from my own little boat, which floats most comfortably in the silver stream of impunity. In some time long lost to everyone except myself, I composed a tribute to Victor Lasky that I had thought was imbued with an old and still-fresh affection, but that gave him such misapprehending offense as to impel him to lay suit for libel. Lasky's cause died in the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court at the hands of Judge Albert Cohn, who confessed that, though the black letter was McGuffey's Reader to him, mine was stuff too recondite for him to decipher and that he could only throw up his hands and rule that what cannot be understood cannot be libelous. There have been a few occasions since when I have been visited with complaints about fancied slanders, and I have been able to dispose of each and every one by explaining that, for a full generation, the law in the State of New York has been that my works are incomprehensible. *Lasky* v. *Kempton* is as venerable as *Brown* v. *Board of Education* and far further beyond challenge: I shall die immune and untouchable.

Still I cherish the law of libel, and, even when it seemed to have no reins at all, I have tried to maintain the illusion of its bit in my mouth. An active libel standard is a mark of our progress toward some degree of social refinement; it is civilization's substitute for the *code duello*. That lady in Florida no longer had and no longer ought to have had any expectation that, as a representative of her traducers, Hedley Donovan could be horsewhipped, by her brother if she were innocent and by the lucky beneficiary of her errant kindness if she weren't. She had no redress but the writ; and there seems to me something strangely confused in our values if there could have existed any debate at all as to whether her right to her good name ought to yield to some public right to know a possibly unprovable something to its detriment. □

The GIMLET EYE

FANZINES

D. KEITH MANO

Dateline: Fandom. A female country: ten women for each man here, at the Star Trek Convention. Women with husbands who will never travel at warp ten: a phone switcher, a policeman, a dentist. Their children eat pacifiers solemnly: plastic handles, it would seem, for the head. Serious, attentive women —much like those who fret about beginning-middle-end at writers' conferences—and I don't intend to mock them. They are in charge of our small legends.

"Artwork and layout and editing. A good fanzine takes months, sometimes years to produce." Lynn has one in her hand: thirty contributors, two hundred pages, lush printing. Cost: $12.35 postpaid. A comely item: my publishers should care so much. "We're learning to write. We all hope to move up from fanzines to paid writing. But, meanwhile, this is a place where we can get published. Where we can read each other's work and criticize it. You know: we say, That isn't the way Captain Kirk would talk or Spock would think. This 'zine took 140 hours just to type on computer tape. Most of us have jobs or children. Believe me, no one can make a profit. Anyhow, we're not allowed to. That's why these are called fanzines, not magazines. We'd be infringing on the *Star Trek* copyright if we made money. We have to be amateur—though not amateurish, I hope. And, if you like your teeth, don't call me a trekkie."

So there it is: the TV school of literature. I've always wondered about those newspaper ads for cutlery or glue—you know, the ones that say AS SEEN ON TV. A disputable imprimatur: can the mere visibility of glue on my 16-inch screen improve its adhesiveness? Now we'll have poems and stories AS SEEN. Used to be the tag "True Life Adventure" could increase marketability in a book: readers didn't want fiction.

But TV fiction, apparently, is another fish. After all, it happens right in the living- or bedroom: your husband is not more intimate (both can be

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turned off). *Star Trek* fanzine dialogue will impersonate Spock's didactic locutions, even William Shatner's farinaceous pause- . . . filled . . . acting. There is no reason for character development ingredients are given on each label Kirk and Spock have wide reference anything televised enough does. Reality too, is intermittent at best. Action will plot itself out in strange space/time continua: fanzinists feel no responsibility to refurbish or make more concise our perception of subcelestial life. This can't be, I think, a promising exercise for new writers: the rerun method.

YET THEY jerk at my attention. In one story Kirk dies. In another. In another Then Spock has been blinded for good really all ears now. The fanzinists won't accept TV law: *This character must be kept alive and recognizable for next week*. There is even a noticeable amount (say 10 per cent) of hardcore *Star Trek* porn at the convention. Little subcortical rebellions against TV. If Kirk can die, then an extra quantum of anxiety (and humanity) will drift within gravitational pull. Fanzine stories are each at base, the final episode. (Remember for almost ten years *Star Trek* has been in cryogenic freeze: repeating, repeating unable to finish.) Fanzinists don't want another three-year hitch on *The Enterprise*. They want consummation: death and porn signal that. Consummation particularly in the matter of relationship.

Freudian cheap-shot artists would whiff an incipient homosexuality in Spock-Kirk. (This sort of pairing has been continuous throughout American adventure: the Lone Ranger and Tonto are separated from *Star Trek* only by time and hardware: Tonto, like Vulcan Spock, was an ethnic misfit.) Both Kirk and Spock are repressed around women: Kirk, because of his rank; Spock because of his dispassionate Vulcan heritage. Fanzines, though—owing, doubtless, to their female orientation—have shaken off the simple-headed homosexual psycho-cant. *Star Trek* derives its influence from a much more complex (and lucky) suggestiveness. In fact: Kirk is woman; Spock is man. Kirk (and, to a lesser extent, McCoy, Scott, all the Earthlings) will flirt with Spock. They are passionate, vulnerable—well: human, earthy. Spock's unresponsive nature irks them. He is paradigmatically masculine: logical, tearless, profession-directed: shut off by Vulcan (read macho) moral codes. Fanzine story after fanzine story will conclude with something equivalent to a sensitive (but sexless) Spock-Kirk embrace. Actually *Star Trek*, as series, might be subtitled "The Emotional Seduction of Mr. Spock."

Yet *Star Trek* is more even than all that. In its prime time—1968 or so—the nation was bullied by a new and often unpleasant emotional permissiveness: demonstration, riot, explicit sexuality. Spock stood for the Eisenhower Era under siege: he was Fifties Man, self-assured and rigid and chauvinist. I remember (*Star Trek* is the only TV series I have seen more than one episode of)—I remember that famous Omicron Ceti III chapter. On Omicron, Spock, stricken by some local un-Vulcanizing germ, attempted love: attempted. It was, given the social and psychological resonances set up week after week, a most sublime dramatic moment.

Fanzine writers (women) have reconstructed Spock's past: in doing this they have also anthropomorphized him, so to speak. He was, you recall, an intergalactic mulatto: half Vulcan, half human. The ladies change that terminology: they make Spock half male, half female. They attribute his epic stoicism to an oppressive father and an oppressive Vulcan (male) culture. They then do what Kirk could not: seduce him: give him tears. I daresay Spock has cuckolded many of us in the female daydream. But he *was* us, too: us men, pestered by that ubiquitous, annoying get-in-touch-with-your-femaleness tirade. He never gave way: network programming wouldn't allow it: and, by pure dumb chance, a powerful thematic tension was strung in place.

How powerful? Powerful enough to make *Star Trek* fanzines the most evocative, clear, and consistent vanity-press writing I have yet read. That is one hallmark of true myth: it can instill in even its smallest minstrels a universal tone. □

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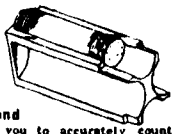

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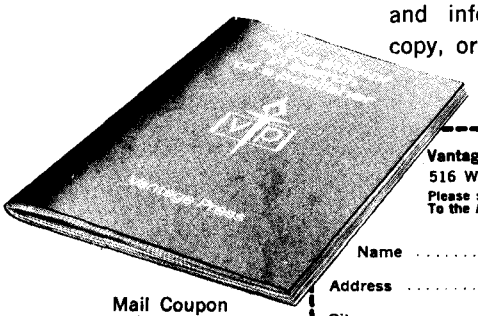

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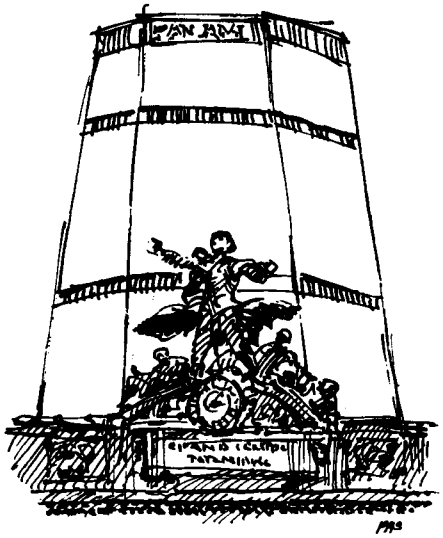
BOOKS IN BRIEF

ZOLA, *by Joanna Richardson (St. Martin's, 283 pp., $14.95).* Victor Hugo probably summed up the main trouble with Emile Zola when he said, "There are certain pictures which one should not paint. Don't tell me it's all true, don't tell me that it happens like this. I know, I went down and explored all that misery, but I won't have people making a spectacle of it. You have *no right to strip poverty and misfortune naked.*" Zola went yet a step further. In his obsession with a "scientifically" honest depiction of the poor, he often stripped them of their very humanity. With rare exceptions, his victims are not really victims, for innocence was never theirs to lose. The difficulty with *la bête humaine*, to cite but one example, is not the credibility of his ultimate beastliness, but the scanty evidence that he was ever anything different. Zola was too obsessed with society to focus properly on people. When Nana's once beautiful body putrefies, it is as if dry rot has set in at a formerly lush bordello—which is at least partially the intended effect, since Nana, although based in part on a real courtesan, Blanche d'Antigny, is not, properly speaking, a person. She is not even the personification of corruption itself in Second Empire France, but merely a material conductor of the current of decadence that, as Zola saw it, caused the death of the Second Empire. (Others might argue that the superior Prussian Army had a great deal more to do with it.) Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to Zola is that, despite the cold pseudo-science of his premise and approach, his descriptive power is often great enough, almost accidentally, to bring feeling to his antiseptic allegories. Joanna Richardson, in this latest addition to her considerable body of workmanlike studies of nineteenth century French literary figures, does more than justice to Zola the individual artist, and gives him deserved credit for his role as a shaper of trends and, in the instance of the Dreyfus case, an outspoken defender of the truth. The result is a knowledgeable, concise one-volume life of a slightly overrated artist. One wishes that Alphonse Daudet, who, in *Numa Roumestan*, *The Nabab*, and several other neglected novels, painted a far more balanced human and historical portrait of the period—and of the Southern French character—could attract an equally sound modern biographer.

ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

PRODIGAL FATHER: *The Life of John Butler Yeats (1839-1922), by William M. Murphy (Cornell, 680 pp., $27.50).* John Butler Yeats was the father of the poet William Butler Yeats and the painter Jack Yeats, and, until this present biography was published, his own colorful life was relegated to footnotes in books or articles about his famous offspring. John Butler Yeats has finally gotten his due, and we are richer for the exposure, thanks to the care with which William M. Murphy has done his research. He paints a vivid picture of the man and his times, and puts the lives of all the members of the Yeats family into context, allowing us to see them afresh. As a painter and personality, JBY, as he was known, was active in the Irish Renaissance as well as in the literary and artistic world of the early twentieth century in the United States. His letters were collected by Ezra Pound and praised by T. S. Eliot. He numbered among his friends and foes all the major political and literary personalities in Ireland during his lifetime. In New York, where he spent his last 16 years, his friends and acquaintances included Van Wyck Brooks, Jack London, Conrad Aiken, John Sloan, Alan Seeger, Robert Henri, and others. Born in County Down, Ireland, in 1839, John Butler Yeats was the son of a Church of England rector. At 18, aspiring to follow in his father's footsteps, he began to read copiously to reinforce his faith, and found that he had none. At 28, after one year as a lawyer, he announced to his young wife, without earlier notice, that he had decided to become an artist. With meager funds from property in Ireland (which he managed to mismanage), he shuffled his family around England and Ireland, seeking commissions for portraits and submitting works, which were refused, for exhibitions. JBY became a bohemian, but he was a bohemian without malice. He seemed merely to desire freedom from obligation and order at all costs. Typically, he failed to act when support was offered by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Robert Browning. Whenever a particularly promising opportunity developed, he shirked it—as if getting on in this world terrified him. Yet, despite the general air of unfulfillment about JBY's life, he completed scores of portraits and thousands of drawings of the chief personalities of modern Ireland. This is the conclusion toward which Mr. Murphy aims his book. If I have any complaint, it is that, in his search for detail, Murphy has opted for bare fact rather than analysis. Still, I believe this will be John Butler Yeats's standard biography for years to come.



THOMAS BRIDGES

THE ART MUSEUM: *Power, Money, Ethics, by Karl E. Meyer (Morrow, 352 pp., $15).* No matter how you look at them, American art museums—André Malraux called them America's cathedrals—have been a major success story. Since 1950, new museum buildings and additions to older ones have amounted to something like 10.2 million square feet, the equivalent of 13.6 Louvres, and museum attendance figures have climbed with a steadiness Wall Street must envy. Yet art museums have had a bad press recently. Not only have lurid tales of mismanagement and chicanery been making the front pages, but, more importantly, many museums are in dreadful financial shape, for as their door counts rise, so do their deficits. With this in mind, the Twentieth Century Fund, which a few years ago surveyed the problems besetting the performing arts, decided to do the same for art museums, and it commissioned the well-known journalist Karl E. Meyer to do the job. The result is the present book, which took three years to complete—Meyer conducted three hundred interviews in five cities with "museum directors and trustees, curators and docents, auctioneers and art dealers, foundation executives and working artists." It is too bad that, instead of basing his report on this extensive research, Mr. Meyer relied largely on those old standbys, newspaper clippings, so that much of his account is a rehash of the well-known shenanigans of the art world. However, the reader will also find a lively account of the inner workings of museums: how loan exhibitions are decided on and financed; how the personal likes and dislikes of trustees affect museum operations, including what works of art are acquired or "de-accessioned"; how museums get involved in foreign policy. Mr. Meyer also makes it abundantly clear that the financial bind in which so many museums find themselves is almost insoluble. Though government support on local, state, and federal levels has increased beyond the wildest dreams of its original proponents, these agencies, like private foundations and big corporate donors, prefer to sponsor splashy projects that will attract attention to their generosity rather than to help pay heating bills or guards' wages.

RUTH BERENSON

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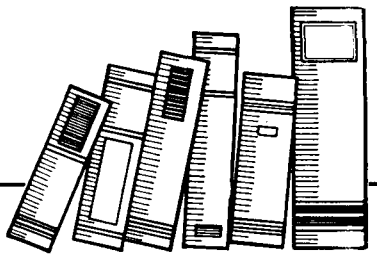

Dark Horses

WITH OCCASIONAL exceptions to prove the rule, the pattern of U.S. diplomacy since World War II has been one of selling out our friends in order to appease our enemies.

Among the earliest and most tragic victims of this policy was General Draja Mihailovich, the Serbian patriot who fought a valiant, many-sided, and ultimately losing battle to prevent totalitarian conquest of Yugoslavia. Because important elements in the British and American Governments were eager to accommodate the Communists, Mihailovich was delivered into the hands of Josip Broz Tito, and, after a typical Bolshevik show trial, murdered.

In *Patriot or Traitor* (Hoover Institution, Stanford, Calif. 94305; $19) David Martin, former senior analyst with the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, assembles a mass of data indicating that Mihailovich was innocent of the trumped-up charges of pro-Nazi "collaboration" brought against him, and that the behavior of the British and American Governments was responsible for his political agony and death.

The Yugoslav issue in World War II was, Which of the two contending factions should the Allies support against the Nazis—Mihailovich's anti-Communist Chetniks, or Tito's Communist Partisans? The Soviets of course backed Tito, with the U.S. characteristically ambivalent. The scales were tipped by Britain, thanks to a stream of falsehoods fed to Whitehall by strategically situated people in the Foreign Office and the BBC. Martin, who knows the issue intimately from his days as executive director of the Committee for a Fair Trial for Mihailovich, recounts all this in great detail. He also shows us how the American Government, after first attempting to intercede in Mihailovich's behalf, at last stood back and let him go to his doom.

The pattern of appeasement suggested by this episode has continued to the present day—as witness the chilling summary of our current situation by General Lewis W. Walt, entitled *The Eleventh Hour* (Caroline House, Ottawa, Ill. 61350; $9.95). General Walt, former assistant commandant of the Marine Corps and a much-decorated veteran of three wars, has produced a cogently written, and thoroughly frightening, book.

He shows that we are still pursuing the futile strategy of trying to accommodate the Marxists by trampling on our anti-Communist allies—with the leaders of South Korea, Taiwan, Rhodesia, et al. receiving the treatment once accorded to Mihailovich. But, as Walt makes clear, we have also refined our policy of appeasement beyond this elementary level, as in the continuing transfer of strategic technology to the Soviet Union, and the policy of unilateral disarmament we have been following since the middle 1960s. Under this peculiar strategy, we have refused to develop a new manned bomber to replace our aging B-52s, cut our naval fleet in half, stopped work on new intercontinental missiles, et cetera. Now, says Walt, we propose to freeze ourselves into a posture of permanent weakness through adoption of another SALT agreement.

UNDERSCORING this final point is *An Analysis of SALT II*, prepared by the Coalition for Peace through Strength (American Security Council, 499 South Capitol Street, Washington, D.C. 20003; $2). This is a timely overview of recent defense trends and the projected impact on them of the SALT accords. It shows the steady decline of U.S. forces, the constant efforts of the Soviets to build their strength, and the manner in which the SALT agreements would prevent us from using available technology to improve our nuclear defenses. Of particular interest is the discussion of "mutual assured destruction"—the U.S. disarmament theory which holds that America's civilian population, as a matter of deliberate policy, should be left exposed to potential enemy attack.

—M. STANTON EVANS

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

ELBERT HUBBARD:

[A Thousand and One]

Epigrams

Academic education is the act of memorizing things read in books, and things told by college professors who got their education mostly by memorizing things read in books and told by college professors.

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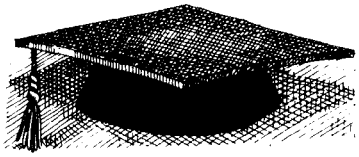

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WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Vote for Teddy Kennedy

On The Right

New York, May 7—On Monday, Senator Kennedy addressed the American Society of Newspaper Editors and said some strenuously unpleasant things about President Carter's decision not to play King Canute with oil prices. Mr. Kennedy was critical of Mr. Carter at a level that went beyond mere economic analysis. He said that Mr. Carter had allowed himself to be "intimidated" by the "oil lobby"; that a) Carter shouldn't permit decontrol in the first place, and b) if he did, he ought to tax the whole of the differential.

On Monday afternoon at his press conference, apprised of what Senator Kennedy had said, Mr. Carter snapped back, "That's a lot of baloney."

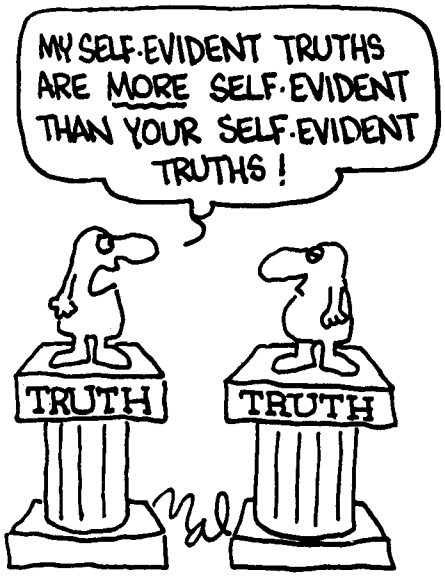
THOSE WORDS are probably the truest spoken by Mr. Carter during his Presidency, but what is interesting about them is the animating spirit of the remark, even as what is interesting about Mr. Kennedy's assault isn't the economic observations, which are as profound as any statement, however festooned with political poetry, that two plus two equals five.

What we have here is a rather formal declaration of war between Kennedy and Carter, with the White House in mind in 1981. It would appear to me that American patriots ought not to regret this quarrel, let alone stand in the way of its prospering. Listen, for a moment, to how a crooked line might take us straight in the direction of a better America. . . .

1. Senator Kennedy has emerged—this is the formal finding of a sophisticated ideological poll—as the single most consistently left-minded member of the U.S. Senate. That means he's to the left even of such worthies as Metzenbaum and Culver. On a scale of 1 (Goldwater, say) to 100 (Kennedy), that situates Kennedy about 40 or 50 points to the left of the average American's view of things. It was Franklin P. Adams who observed that the average American is a little bit above average, and never was this clearer than in comparing the political intelligence of the average American with that of the graduate of Harvard who turns left.

2. Kennedy can't (more accurately, won't) challenge Carter directly for the nomination. As we all know, to do this to a sitting President who (unlike Gerald Ford) was elected to office is on the order of a cardinal announcing a campaign to retire an incumbent pope. In our time, an elected incumbent has been challenged by a member of his own party only once, by the genially flaky Eugene McCarthy. Robert Kennedy, remember, entered the race only after Lyndon Johnson announced his withdrawal.

3. But there is nothing to prevent New Hampshire Democrats from writing in the name of Edward Kennedy for President. To suggest that the success of any such enterprise is surrealistic is to forget the lesson of 1964, when Henry Cabot Lodge won as a write-in candidate against front-runners Goldwater and Rockefeller. If Kennedy greatly outpulls Carter in the New Hampshire race, the star of Carter will fall as dramatically as the dollar under the Carter Administration. Then, suddenly, things will drastically change. The pressure from the Democratic Establishment won't be to guard unity in the party by discouraging challengers to Carter. Rather, the Establishment will turn to Kennedy to beg him to take the leadership. Correspondingly, the pressure will be on Carter to announce his unavailability for a second term.



4. The nomination of Kennedy by the Democrats at the convention would be a most boisterous, elated affair. Like the nomination of George McGovern. Unless America goes crazy between now and then, there would result from it all a sweeping Republican victory in November, whether under Reagan, Connally, Baker, Bush, or Crane. This would accomplish two things. It would put a Republican in the White House, almost always desirable; and it would end the presidential career of Senator Kennedy as emphatically as Senator McGovern's was terminated in November of 1972.

5. The practical challenge? Fifty thousand Republican voters in New Hampshire should, like Cincinnatus, put down their plows and come to the aid of their country. They should register as Democrats. And, on primary day, write in the name: Edward M. Kennedy. □

HEROES OF THE SOVIET UNION

New York, May 15—The recent exchange of Russian spies for Russian dissidents was a bizarre episode in diplomacy. It is unusual, to say the least, to trade Russians in return for Russians. It raises the abstractly interesting point: In which direction would the last Russian be traveling—from Moscow to New York, or from New York to Moscow—if we kept it up, exchanging two Russian spies for five Russian dissidents?

Such objections as one hears to the exchange—mostly muted—have to do with the nature of deterrence. We caught two Russians in the act of buying state secrets from an American naval officer. These Russians were found guilty and sentenced to fifty years in prison, which would have taken them past the 100th anniversary of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The objection is that if Russians know that if they are caught stealing our secrets, or reading Jack Anderson's column, all Russia needs to do is fetch up one more dissident—their future is absolutely secure.

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That reasoning is correct, though it leaves out of consideration the question whether a Russian finds himself happier in prison in America, or out of prison in Russia. But there is no doubting that the Soviet Union is not likely to run out of dissidents before we run out of spies. So that if the exchange becomes institutionalized, American prisons will become way-stations to Kennedy Airport. Perhaps frustrated American judges should revise sentencing procedures and, henceforward, inflict upon Russian spies a penalty measured in the number of dissidents required for their release. Say, one dissident for stealing classified U.S. documents, ten dissidents for stealing atomic secrets, one hundred dissidents for penetrating Carter's energy policy. Though perhaps this would be dismissed as judicial presumption.

GINZBURG, Shcharansky, Orlov, Moroz, these are the great heroes of the twentieth century. Men who know, with the certainty that arctic winters will descend on the Soviet Union every year, that the stalactites of Gulag will impale them for the treasonable activity of asking for human freedom. Many are called—hundreds of thousands. But only a handful are chosen; called out, at four in the morning, given a suit of clothing, yanked into airplanes, and dispatched to New York City. The Freedom Express, is what Aeroflot might be termed, but only on its westward run. (Respecting the dissidents themselves, one can only rejoice along with them at their deliverance.) The dumb gratitude of these valiant men shames us in the complacency of our self-indulgence. What will they do, now that they are here?

The negotiations, presided over by Mr. Brzezinski, were protracted. What did he and Dobrynin talk about? The identity of the proposed prisoners? Perhaps—it is widely supposed that we asked for Shcharansky, whose victimization was something of a work of art, even for Bolshevik justice. We did not get him, because he is a treasured symbol of Soviet ruthlessness. But what else did they talk about?

One wonders whether a part of the bargain was that the United States would not use the men for the purpose of making waves? The Voice of America, we have gradually come to learn, gives out an epicene signal. Once, along with its underground satellites, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, it pulsated with news of the free world, and with news of the unfree world. It was from such broadcasts that Russian dissidents got such news as they had of the systematic atrocities of their leaders. But this began to change a long time ago. Even when Svetlana defected, we handled the news diffidently, though we should have treated it like New Year's Eve. We consider it nowadays uncouth to sound tocsins over the airwaves, which are reserved for the balm of detente. Seven years ago Zbigniew Brzezinski was advising the United States Advisory Commission on Information, a now-defunct body which used to monitor the work of the USIA for the convenience of Congress and the President, that we lacked above all in the Free World an organ that would harness the energies of the Free World as the BBC had harnessed the energies of the world in the global offensive against fascism. But that was another Brzezinski. Ginzburg was silenced in Russia by being sent to Gulag. In America, we won't silence him. He will find a publisher, to be sure; and we will have one more account of life in the Workers' Paradise.

A pity. But let us be grateful for what we have. Five liberated heroes. □

JUSTIFYING INACTIVITY

New York, May 25 —The jogging craze shows no sign of diminishing. By now one must suppose that every American who can read has bought a copy of Mr. Fixx's book on the subject. I have two, which is on the order of buying an encyclopedia in order to become educated. I also have one of those indoor exercise bicycles. I wish I had bought a model that doesn't come with an odometer. Because mine is a standing reproach to the weakness of the flesh. It reads 103 miles. I got the cursed thing four years ago.

Pursuant to the human compulsion for self-justification, my mind has turned to morbid matters, and last week I had a conversation with my physical mentor. He is a gentleman of great distinction, huge size, who hasn't gone to bed any day of his adult life without committing fifty push-ups. I turn myself over to him once a week for about 45 minutes during which I submit to every form of physical abjection, including hoisting great barbells, imitating Russian cossack dancers, touching toes, clapping hands over my head, and every other conjugable muscular distortion. I have also learned to become a lethal instrument. As I once put it, any man who tries to push me over the edge of the Empire State Building will be positively the last man who ever tries to push me over the edge of the Empire State Building, because he will find himself without eyes or teeth or tonsils, or other things, thanks to my coach.

But the subject inevitably arose about doing some homework, and jogging came up. He knows about my bicycle. The conversation went something like this:

"You need to bring your pulse beat to between 120 and 137 at your age. Then keep it there for 12 minutes. That flushes out your cardiovascular system. You should do that every day."

"What happens if you flush out your cardiovascular system?"

"You don't die of heart attacks."

"What do you then die of?"

THE SILENCE was eloquent; and the mood shifts as, suddenly, we are required to ask ourselves that question seriously. We all know what it is we do not want to die from. Cancer. Leprosy. Creutzfeld-Jakob disease. The list is very long. We do not want to die of anything that brings protracted pain.

Having said that, we must ask ourselves more difficult questions. We don't want, do we, a prolonged senescence? Surely we want to depart this vale of tears some time before we begin sounding like Arthur Schlesinger Jr.? We don't want—do we?—15 years in a nursing home, with day and night care, failed vision, incontinence, blurry speech, indistinct recall? Mostly we don't want this because each of us knows and loves someone in such a condition, and we recognize the human paradox that we would fight to the death, spend to the point of bankruptcy, to keep him/her alive. But while we have our health, we can think forward sufficiently to know that we do not wish this for ourselves, even though we are bound by the spiritual commandment not to bring on death by suicide, nor to decline conventional therapy.

Which brings us back to the cardiovascular point. It is tragic, at age thirty, to die of heart disease. But is it tragic at age 75 to die of heart disease? The answer is that it is tragic—provided that after age 75, in the individual case, some pleasure, or serenity, or usefulness is the prospect, followed eventually by . . .

What? We all read of those fortunate few who retire to bed one night after a splendid evening with friends and family, and—in the unforgettable phrase of a nine-year-old referring to her great-aunt—"wake up dead." It happens. But will happen with diminishing frequency, it would seem, as the science of geriatrics prospers.

What will we do, to induce ourselves, finally, into a thanatotic state?

A question to consider, during those hours we do not spend jogging. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. Jesus Christ's first disciples
16 156 263 227 255 233 101 115 145

B. A trephine so shaped that it will not penetrate the brain
24 56 250 34 209 228 224 273 160 269

C. Morganatic
81 58 151 186 25 219 49 65 143 140

D. Town that was "little among the thousands of Judah" —*Micah* 5:2
90 31 51 59 258 108 128 135 149 171

192 200 208 1 217 235 238

E. City northwest of Chicago
99 9 50 55 69 82 93 109 130 165

253 268 97

F. What an indoor television antenna is
117 19 54 79 96 127 64 70 152 150

202

G. What's left after income and social security taxes have been deducted
126 138 162 129 88 168 154 176 28 39

252

H. Bearing living young that hatch from eggs inside the body of the maternal organism
153 177 166 188 194 234 245 27 37 44

120 199 105

I. An ideal state, condition, or place
2 8 42 45 98 15 29 73 78 21

57 61 36 86

J. Either of two slender, creeping, evergreen, caprifoliaceous plants, having pink or purplish nodding flowers borne in pairs on threadlike peduncles
155 249 6 184 20 175 272 10 191 229

K. The president of Princeton, 1912-1932
182 110 92 264 207 236

L. Relativity
189 125 4 62 71 60 75 131 158 52

174 18 190 197

M. Extrinsic
201 7 84 89 169 222 187 206 223 226

257 137

N. Long sight and impairment of vision due to old age
271 172 239 164 159 118 215 100 41 275

O. Town southeast of Namur, Belgium
12 77 14 102

P. Made unhappy
277 270 32 47 94 267 111 196

Q. Stream in northwestern Minnesota
17 11 22 241 5 173 163 112 116 230

R. City north of Des Moines
26 38 63 68 179 276 91 243 13 261

S. What a motorist should have when he starts out on a long trip
40 278 225 213 132 33 193

T. Town in Jefferson County, Colorado
53 216 279 80 119 211 237 113 244

U. Town southeast of Toledo
66 139 124 242 106 212 256 142 146 280

V. A tourist attraction in Paris
74 3 76 246 43 136 248 148 103 183

144

W. Peremptory
104 254 87 95 198 121 133 180 185 205

221 262 266

X. A universal medicine
147 178 220 67 123 167 48 23 161 30

Y. Emphasized
210 72 170 218 232 247 214 260 181 265

274

Z. Abated
231 107 203 83 122

a. Town south of Northampton, England
240 35 157 134 85

b. A mass or growth of marine plants
251 114 46 141 195 204 259

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Note: Bold black lines instead of boxes indicate the ends of words for this puzzle only.

See page 760 for Solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

1 D	2 I	3 V	4 L	5 Q	6 J	7 M	8 I	9 E	10 J	11 Q	12 O	13 R	14 O	15 I	16 A	17 Q	18 L	19 F	20 J
21 I	22 Q	23 X	24 B	25 C	26 R	27 H	28 G	29 I	30 X	31 D	32 P	33 S	34 B	35 a	36 I	37 H	38 R	39 G	40 S
41 N	42 I	43 V	44 H	45 I	46 b	47 P	48 X	49 C	50 E	51 D	52 L	53 T	54 F	55 E	56 B	57 I	58 C	59 D	60 L
61 I	62 L	63 R	64 F	65 C	66 U	67 X	68 R	69 E	70 F	71 L	72 Y	73 I	74 V	75 L	76 V	77 O	78 I	79 F	80 T
81 C	82 E	83 Z	84 M	85 a	86 I	87 W	88 G	89 M	90 D	91 R	92 K	93 E	94 P	95 W	96 F	97 E	98 I	99 E	100N
101A	102O	103V	104W	105H	106U	107Z	108D	109E	110K	111P	112Q	113T	114b	115A	116Q	117F	118N	119T	120H
121W	122Z	123X	124U	125L	126G	127F	128D	129G	130E	131L	132S	133W	134a	135D	136V	137M	138G	139U	140C
141b	142U	143C	144V	145A	146U	147X	148V	149D	150F	151C	152F	153H	154G	155J	156A	157a	158L	159N	160B
161X	162G	163Q	164N	165E	166H	167X	168G	169M	170Y	171D	172N	173Q	174L	175J	176G	177H	178X	179R	180W
181Y	182K	183V	184J	185W	186C	187M	188H	189L	190L	191J	192D	193S	194H	195b	196P	197L	198W	199H	200D
201M	202F	203Z	204b	205W	206M	207K	208D	209B	210Y	211T	212U	213S	214Y	215N	216T	217D	218Y	219C	220X
221W	222M	223M	224B	225S	226M	227A	228B	229J	230Q	231Z	232Y	233A	234H	235D	236K	237T	238D	239N	240a
241Q	242U	243R	244T	245H	246V	247Y	248V	249J	250B	251b	252G	253E	254W	255A	256U	257M	258D	259b	260Y
261R	262W	263A	264K	265Y	266W	267P	268E	269B	270P	271N	272J	273B	274Y	275N	276R	277P	278S	279T	280U

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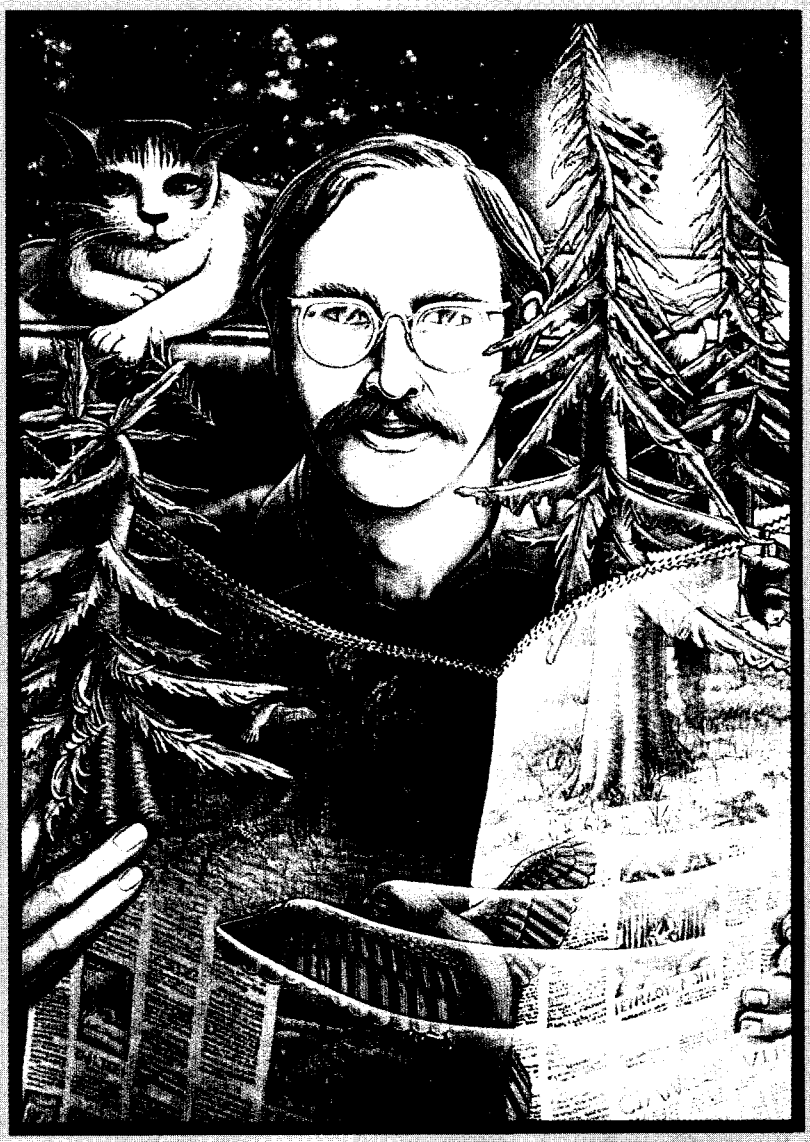
What do you see when you look at your newspaper?



It depends on your point-of-view.

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